

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPELS



BURTON *and* WILLOUGHBY



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THE GOSPELS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS


THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY
SHANGHAI



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EARLIEST RECORD OF DR. BURTON'S JOHANNINE THEORY

(Working hypothesis sketched at the conclusion of
his autumn seminar 1915)

Dec 1915

The Origin of the Fourth Gospel.
Hypothesis.

1. The author had at his command three sources.
 - a) the Synoptic Gospels
 - b) a second narrative source
 - c) a discourse source
2. In the first two he edited fairly to give the impression but he wished to give of his own.
3. To the text he added
 - a) the passages denunciations of the Jews
 - b) the dialogues embedded in the discourses
 - c) the Anti-Thomasian passages
 - d) Occasional other notes.
4. To all these when, viz. 1, a & b edited as indicated in 2, & 1 c, edited as indicated in 3, he combined together in the present Gospel.
5. To all these a second editor added the remarks which imply that signs are the basis of faith; or (alternation 5) the original editor used or recurred or so insisted that a new set of signs that he himself inserted there.

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPELS

By
ERNEST DE WITT BURTON

Revised by
HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY



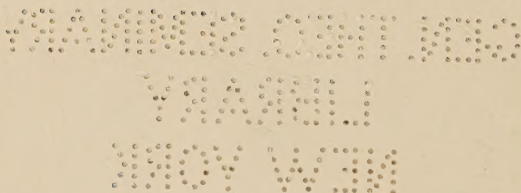
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

226Q
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Published June 1904
Second Impression July 1906
Third Impression July 1910
Fourth Impression September 1913
Fifth Impression October 1917
Revised Edition May 1926



Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

A brief letter from the author dictated not long before his death was the reviser's commission for his task. The letter indicated in a single sentence the lines along which the revision should be made. To keep the *Short Introduction* as Dr. Burton's own work, and to exhibit not only his final views regarding the four gospels, but also the substantial advances of scholarship during the last two decades, were the related purposes of the reviser.

In the chapters dealing with the synoptic gospels little alteration was necessary, the author's earlier findings having anticipated many of the conclusions of later and independent research. Accordingly, in these chapters the original text remains practically intact. An important excursus by Dr. Burton on "The Dates of the Synoptic Gospels" has been appended to chapter iv. This fresh material gives the author's ultimate conclusions concerning a nexus of problems that he did not discuss in his first edition. The judgments expressed are distinctive and were formulated at almost the very close of his career.

The final chapter, on the fourth gospel, presented a revision problem of another kind. Dr. Burton's latest work on the Johannine question was carried on by a method entirely different from the technique he earlier employed, and his conclusions were at the opposite pole of opinion from those stated in the original edition of this book. In section iii of chapter v these final conclusions are summarized in Dr. Burton's own words, as found

after his death in a paper carefully prepared before the close of his teaching experience, but never published. This section presents a unique and significant contribution toward the solution of one of the most difficult and complicated problems in all the field of New Testament criticism. It outlines a theory of fourth gospel origins that deserves to take its place beside the author's well-known synoptic theory. Acknowledgment of gratitude is due to Miss Margaret Burton for making it possible to present the author's views, not only in his own words, but even in his own handwriting, as reproduced in facsimile from his manuscript.

In order to make chapter v, as a whole, self-consistent in viewpoint, certain excisions were made from the original text of this chapter. All additional materials by the reviser have been bracketed as footnotes.

Loyalty to an inspiring leader has dictated the work of revision.

H. R. W.

GOODSPEED HALL
October, 1925

PREFACE

THE chief purpose of this little volume is to place before the student of the gospels those facts concerning the purpose and point of view of each of them which are most necessary for an intelligent reading and study of them. A book of narrative character, containing a record of facts, has a value independent of the point of view and purpose of the author. Yet few books are so wholly objective in character, so devoted to the simple reporting of facts, so devoid of all aim to use these facts to achieve a result, that an insight into the mind of the writer does not contribute to an intelligent reading of them. To us today the highest value of the gospels is in the testimony they bring us concerning the deeds, words, and character of the Lord Jesus. Yet it is by no means idle curiosity that impels us to discover all that we can concerning the specific aim with which the several evangelists wrote. Not only is the discovery of the situation out of which each gospel arose, and of the end which the writer of each sought to accomplish, a contribution to the inner history of the early church, precisely as a knowledge of similar facts concerning an epistle of Paul constitutes such a contribution, but the discovery of the angle of vision from which, and the medium through which, the writer looked at Jesus, assists us to interpret each of the several representations of Jesus, and so to relate these one to another that from them all there may emerge the true historic figure of Jesus the Christ.

In the endeavor thus to discover the proper point of

view from which to study each gospel, it is the gospel itself that is our most valuable source of information. All that tradition transmits to us concerning the identity of the author and his aim in writing is sure to be seized upon with eagerness, all the greater because of the meagerness of such testimony, and is rightly scrutinized with the most diligent attention that it may be made to yield all the information that it can supply. Yet at its best tradition tells us but little, and that little only the record of ancient opinion. The internal evidence of the gospels themselves—not the few assertions which they contain concerning authorship and the like, but the constant reflection on every page of the point of view and aim of the evangelist—comes to us at first hand, and, if we are able to interpret it correctly, yields us evidence that cannot be impeached.

It is to this internal evidence that special attention is directed in the following pages. Of the subjects here treated, that which is most necessary and useful for the interpretation of the several gospels is a knowledge of the purpose, point of view, and plan of the gospel. These matters are central in the present treatment. As subsidiary to the search for them, the evidence afforded in the gospels themselves concerning the writer and the readers for whom he wrote is examined. The brief quotations of ancient tradition respecting the authorship of the books fill in the present treatment the place of least importance, serving only to suggest the relation of the external evidence to that internal evidence which is here the almost exclusive subject of study. The full presentation, scrutiny, and weighing of the external testimony lie quite beyond the scope of this book, the specific purpose of

which is to throw upon the gospels the light concerning their origin and purpose which emanates from these gospels themselves.

The chapter on "The Relation of the Synoptic Gospels to One Another" is of a somewhat different character from the others. It is intended to be no more than an introduction to the subject with which it deals. To have presented the evidence on this subject with even that degree of fulness and detail with which the chief topics of the other chapters have been presented would have expanded the book beyond the moderate limits within which it was desired to keep it, and would have made it less adapted to the use which it is intended to serve, viz., as an introduction to the gospels for the use of students in college or in the first year of a theological course.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

CHICAGO, April, 1904.

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CHAPTER I

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW

I. THE AUTHOR

THE first gospel does not itself name its author. The title as it stands in extant manuscripts and in modern editions comes, not from the hand of the author, but from some later scribe. Nor is the writer's name, as transmitted by tradition, our first concern. What we seek first and chiefly is not his name or identity, but his characteristics and point of view; and for these the gospel itself is our best, indeed almost our only, source of information. To this, accordingly, we turn.

1. *His nationality as it appears in the book itself.*—Several classes of facts bear convergent testimony indicating that the writer of the gospel is a Palestinian Jew.

a) Thus he shows himself familiar with the geography of Palestine. See, for example, 2:1, Bethlehem of Judea, distinguished from Bethlehem in the tribe of Zebulun; 2:23, "a city called Nazareth," a phrase which at first suggests that the place is unfamiliar to the writer and his readers, but is probably intended to call attention to the name and its relation to the reference about to be made to the Old Testament; 3:1, "the wilderness of Judea;"¹ 3:5, the circuit of the Jordan (*cf.* Gen. 13:10); 3:13, Galilee and the Jordan; 4:12, 13, Nazareth and Capernaum, and the relation of these to the ancient tribal boundaries; 4:23-25, Galilee and the lands adjacent;

¹ Some have found in this expression an inaccurate use of terms, perhaps betraying ignorance of the region. In Judg. 1:16 the wilder-

8: 5, 23, 28, the country of the Gadarenes² placed on the

ness of Judah is spoken of as being in the south of Arad. Arad is located by ROBINSON (*Biblical Researches*, Vol. II, p. 101; cf. SMITH, *Dictionary of the Bible*) about sixteen miles south of Hebron. But in Josh. 15: 61 f. Judah's territory is said to include "in the wilderness" Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah. Now Beth-arabah is also mentioned as belonging to Benjamin (Josh. 18: 22), which indicates that the border between Judah and Benjamin ran through it. The exact site of Beth-arabah is unknown, but the location of the border line is approximately shown by being defined in Josh. 18: 19 as drawn from the head of the Dead Sea, and as passing through Beth-hoglah, a town which is in the Jordan valley, about two miles north of the sea. This indicates that the wilderness of Judah extended as far north as the head of the Dead Sea, or a little farther. But the region north of this was also desert (see JOSEPHUS, *Jewish War*, III, 10, 7, *fin.*; cf. IV, 8, 2; cf. also Mark 1: 4, 5, which indicates that the Jordan ran through the wilderness), and when the boundary between Judah and Benjamin was no longer marked, and the territory of both tribes included in Judea, as was the case in New Testament times, it is very probable that the term "wilderness of Judea" would cover both the desolate region west of the Dead Sea and so much of the barren region north of the sea as lay within Judea. It must be observed that Matthew does not necessarily include any portion of the Jordan valley in the wilderness of Judea (cf. 3: 1, 5, 6). His language would be consistent with an intention to represent John's preaching as beginning in the wilderness of Judea, and as being transferred to the Jordan valley when he began to baptize (cf. again Mark 1: 4, 5, which uses the term "wilderness" without the addition of Judea). But it is, perhaps, more probable that he intended the term "wilderness of Judea" to cover both regions.

² The phenomena presented by Matt. 8: 28 and the parallel passages, Mark 5: 1; Luke 8: 26, have not been explained in a wholly satisfactory way. In each of the gospels there is manuscript authority for all three readings — Gadarenes, Gerasenes, Gergesenes. The Revisers follow Westcott and Hort in adopting Gadarenes in Matthew, Gerasenes in Mark, and Gerasenes (marg. Gergesenes, with Tischendorf) in Luke. The conditions of the narrative are fulfilled on the eastern shore, near a town called Khersa or Gersa, situated on the left bank of the Wady Semakh; the ancient name of this town may have been Gergesa (ORIGEN, apparently referring to this site, gives Gergesa as the name; cf. *Opera*, ed. DE LA RUE, IV, 140, *Com. in Joh.*, 1: 28; quoted by TISCHENDORF, Matt.

opposite side of the Sea of Galilee from Capernaum; 14:34, Gennesaret on the Sea of Galilee; 15:21, Tyre and Sidon; 15:39, Magadan, though this cannot be certainly identified today; 16:13; 17:1, Cæsarea Philippi, and the high mountain in that vicinity; 19:1, Judea beyond Jordan; 20:29, Jericho; 21:1, Bethphage (not certainly identified), and the Mount of Olives (*cf.* 24:3) near Jerusalem; 21:17; 26:6, Bethany. It must be remembered, of course, that these references may be in part derived from a documentary source employed by the writer—many of them are found also in Mark—and that all of them are possible to one who was not himself a

8:28), or possibly Gerasa (the frequency of the name Jerash today—CONDER in SMITH, *Dictionary of the Bible*, rev. Eng. ed., I, 1162—suggests that Gerasa was a common name in ancient times). It is doubtless to this place that the names Gerasenes and Gergesenes refer; the former can in any case scarcely refer to the well-known Gerasa, thirty-five miles distant from the lake. The reading Gadarenes, it should be observed, does not involve the statement that the event took place at Gadara, which, lying six miles from the lake and south of the Jarmuk, is an impossible site, but in the country of the Gadarenes, *i. e.*, in the district attached to Gadara. This district, called Gadaritis by Josephus (*Jewish War*, III, 10, 10; *cf.* III, 3, 1), is proved by coins to have extended to the Sea of Galilee (SCHÜRER, *Jewish People*, Div. II, Vol. I, p. 104), but does not seem to have included the site of Khersa, since Hippos with its district lies between (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1887, pp. 36 ff.; SMITH, *Historical Geography*, p. 459). If, therefore, Matthew wrote Gadarenes, it must have been either with the intention of assigning the event to the southeastern shore of the sea, where, however, there is said to be no site fulfilling the conditions (WILSON in SMITH, *Dictionary of the Bible*, rev. Eng. ed., I, 1099), or as a loose and general designation of the country along the southern half of the eastern shore, although the particular site belonged to the district of Hippos or to Gaulanitis, rather than to Gadaritis. In either case the reading Gadarenes, while it may indicate ignorance of the exact location of the event, shows at least general acquaintance with the geography of the region adjacent to the Sea of Galilee.

Palestinian; yet as part of a cumulative argument they are not without value.

b) The author is familiar with Jewish history, customs, and classes of people, and with Jewish ideas. Thus in 1:18 f. he shows his acquaintance with the fact that betrothal could be annulled only by divorce; 2:4, with the position of the scribes, as those to whom a question about the doctrine of the Messiah would be referred; 2:1, with the reign of Herod the Great; 2:22, with the fact that Archelaus succeeded him in Judea, but not in Galilee, and with the reputation of Archelaus for cruelty;³ 14:1, with the title of Herod Antipas, tetrarch⁴ of Galilee; 26:3, 57, with the name of the high-priest; 26:59, with the existence and character of the Sanhedrin; 27:2, 11, 13, with the relation of the Jewish to the Roman authorities, and with the name of the Roman procurator. Here also, though no single item of the evidence is decisive, the whole is not without significance.

c) The writer is familiar with the Old Testament, and believes in it as a book containing divinely given prophecies. The first section of the book, with its title characterizing Christ as son of David and son of Abra-

³ There is a noticeable difference between Matthew's references to the political situation in Palestine and Luke's. Luke speaks with the air of painstaking investigation; Matthew, with that of easy familiarity, all the more noteworthy that the frequent and somewhat complicated succession of rulers would have made error easy.

⁴ Mark 6:14 is less exact, since Herod was not, strictly speaking, king.

In 14:3, it has been alleged, Matthew wrongly designates the brother of Herod whose wife he had married as Philip, whereas Philip was really the husband of Salome; but it is by no means certain that there is an error here. Cf. Mark 6:17 and commentaries on both passages. See also chap. ii, p. 29, n. 4.

ham, and the genealogical table, taken in part from the Old Testament, and designed to prove that Jesus was descended from David and Abraham, as in accordance with prophecy the Messiah must be, show both a familiarity with the Old Testament and a thoroughly Jewish way of looking at it. The structure of this table itself points in the same direction, showing that it is, to the writer, a matter of interest, if not also of argument, that the generations from Abraham to the Messiah are (by virtue of slight omissions and double counting) divisible into three groups of fourteen (twice seven) generations, a fact which suggests that the Messiah appeared at an appropriate time, at the end of three periods the culmination of each of the two preceding of which had been marked by a great event of Jewish history. Throughout the gospel, but especially in the early and later parts, he calls attention to passages of the Old Testament which he interprets as finding their fulfilment in events of Jesus' life (1:22 f.; 2:56, 15, 17 f., 23; 4:14-16; 8:17; 12:17-21; 13:35; 21:4 f.; 27:9). These eleven passages, most of them introduced by the formula, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophet," sometimes with the insertion of the phrase "by the Lord," are a marked feature of this gospel. They are a special contribution of this evangelist, having no parallel passages in Mark or Luke.⁵ Nor, with the exception of Mark 1:2 and Luke 3:4 ff., parallel to Matt. 3:3, are there any similar passages in the other synoptic gospels. They show in the clearest way the author's special interest in

⁵ Nor in John, save that 21:4 f. is paralleled in John 12:14 f., and 8:17 partially in John 1:29. Matt. 4:16 has a partial parallel in Luke 1:79.

the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament and in their fulfilment in Jesus. The conception of the Old Testament and the method of interpreting it which they reveal, though not impossible to a gentile Christian as an acquisition from others, were certainly developed on Jewish soil. That we have, in this particular case, to do with a mind itself Jewish is placed almost beyond doubt by the fact that, though the quotations from the Old Testament which are common to our first three gospels, nearly all of which occur in the words of Jesus, show a predominant influence of the Greek version of the Old Testament, this group of eleven peculiar to the first evangelist clearly shows a predominant influence of the original Hebrew. And this is the more significant in view of the fact that in the one instance in which the three synoptists unite in quoting a passage and speak of its fulfilment (Matt. 3:3; Mark 1:2; Luke 3:4 ff., referring Isa. 40:3 to John the Baptist) they agree in a form of the passage which clearly shows the influence of the Septuagint.

d) In various other ways the writer betrays his Jewish feeling and point of view. He employs descriptive names derived from the Old Testament which would be unnatural in the mouth of any but a Jew, and which are, in fact, found nowhere else in the New Testament, except for one phrase which occurs also in the book of Revelation. Thus in 2:20, 21, land of Israel; 4:5; 27:53, holy city (*cf.* Rev. 11:2); 5:35, city of the great king; 10:6; 15:24, lost sheep of the house of Israel. He speaks of the half-shekel tax which every adult male Jew paid annually for the support of the temple (*cf.* Exod. 30:13-16), simply by the name of the coin that paid it, the two-

drachma piece, following in this a usage probably common among the Jews.⁶ His tone in speaking of gentiles (5:47; 6:7, 32; 18:17) is decidedly Jewish, the name "gentile" being evidently with him not simply a designation of nationality, but a characterization nearly equivalent to our modern term "heathen." He is particularly interested in those teachings of Jesus which are of special significance to the Jew and the Jewish Christian. Thus it is in this gospel only that we have Jesus' word concerning the permanence of the law (5:17-19); the sermon on the mount as given here preserves the comparison of Jesus' teaching with that of the Pharisees, and, indirectly, with that of the Old Testament (chaps. 5-7), an element wholly absent from the similar discourse in Luke (6:20-49); this gospel alone tells us that the personal mission of Jesus, and the work of his apostles on their first separate mission tour, were limited to the Jews (10:6; 15:24); it gives special emphasis to Jesus' denunciation of the Pharisees (15:13 f.; 21:28-32; chap. 23), and is our only authority for the most striking of his sayings concerning the impending doom of the nation (8:11, 12; 21:43; 22:7, are found only in Matthew; cf., also, 12:38-45; 23:35, 36; 24:2, of which there are parallels in Mark or Luke, and 27:25, peculiar to Matthew). Here are elements which seem at first sight contradictory, but they all bespeak an author especially concerned with the relations of the gospel to Judaism.

⁶ Concerning the variation in the amount of the tax, see Exod. 30:13; Neh. 10:32; concerning the ratio of the shekel and drachma, and the coins in use in New Testament times, see MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 290 f., 294; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 193; SCHÜRER, *Jewish People*, Div. II, Vol. I, pp. 38-40, 250 f.; 3d German ed., Vol. II, pp. 52-55, 258 f.; JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.*, iii, 8, 2; xviii, 9, 1.

2. *The author's religious position.*—Evident as it is that our evangelist is a Jew by nationality and education, it is still more clear that he is a Christian—a Jew who, holding the messianic hope of his people and believing that there are messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, finds that hope realized and those prophecies fulfilled in Jesus. Passages need hardly be cited. The first line of the gospel shows the author's position, and it appears throughout the book. The question whether he was also a Judaizing Christian, believing in the permanent authority of the statute law of the Old Testament for both Jewish and gentile Christian, or perhaps for the Jewish Christian but not for his gentile brother, can be answered only on the basis of a study of the purpose of the book. (See III.)

3. *The testimony of tradition concerning the authorship of the book.*—This comes to us in—

a) The title which the gospel bears in ancient manuscripts. This is uniformly *Κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, "According to Matthew," *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, "Gospel according to Matthew," or equivalent phrase.⁷

⁷ The earliest form of the title of the first gospel by which it is named in any extant work is *τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον*, "The Gospel according to Matthew." So in Irenæus (*Possin. Cat. Patr. in Matt.*, iii, 11, 8; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Am. ed., Vol. I, p. 573) and in EUSEBIUS, *H.E.*, v, 10. In the oldest Greek manuscripts the title is simply *κατὰ Ματθαῖον*. Westcott and Hort and others think that the word *εὐαγγέλιον* ("gospel") as the common title of the whole group of four books must be presupposed in order to account for this form of title, though it does not, in fact, appear in any manuscript. If this is correct, the title of the several gospels was in effect *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον*—"Gospel according to Matthew," "Gospel according to Mark," etc. Later manuscripts prefixed a title after this form to each of the gospels separately. The form *τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἄγιον εὐαγγέλιον* is found only in late manuscripts.

b) The statements of the Fathers. The earliest of these testimonies is that of Papias, quoted by Eusebius:

Matthew accordingly composed the oracles [sayings] in the Hebrew dialect, and each one interpreted them as he was able⁸ (EUSEBIUS, *H. E.*, iii, 39).

Later writers frequently repeat this assertion that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, yet accept our Greek gospel as Matthew's, many of them having apparently no direct acquaintance with the Hebrew book. In the third century and later several Hebrew gospels were known, the testimony of those who had seen them showing that they resembled our Matthew, but were not identical with it. That any of them was the original Hebrew Matthew is improbable. The whole evidence, confused though it is, leaves no room for doubt that our first gospel is connected with the apostle Matthew, but the precise nature of the relation must be determined largely by the close comparative study of the first three gospels in the light of the literary methods of the time. Meantime it is to be observed that if the apostle was the author of one of the sources of the book rather than of the book itself, and if the gospel received its present form from some other author, the latter also is shown by the evidence of the gospel itself to be a Jewish Christian, thoroughly imbued alike with belief in the Old Testament and with faith in Christ as the Messiah. His religious position, as well as his ability as an author, will become more clear from the evidence still to be examined under III, IV, and V.

⁸ [The statement of Papias cannot, of course, be understood to have reference to our present gospel of Matthew, which was composed in Greek, and includes the doings as well as the sayings of Jesus. Papias may well have had in mind, however, a discourse document in Aramaic which went into the composition of our present Matthew.]

II. THE READERS FOR WHOM THE BOOK WAS PRIMARILY INTENDED

Much of the evidence bearing upon this question is derived from the same passages which have already been cited to show the nationality of the writer.

1. Not much stress can be laid on the writer's apparent assumption that his readers are familiar with Palestinian geography. The other gospels, which on other grounds are shown to have been written specially for gentiles, apparently make the same assumption; or rather, perhaps, are equally unconcerned that their readers should understand their geographical references. There are even some passages in Matthew which seem to assume that his readers were not acquainted with the smaller Palestinian towns. In 2:23, indeed, the phrase "a city called Nazareth" is probably used simply to call attention to the name in anticipation of the next sentence, and in 4:13 a similar motive leads to the mention of the location of Capernaum; but the placing of the healing of the demoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes, if this be the correct reading, seems to imply that he could not assume that his readers would be acquainted with the little town Khersa, and, therefore, located the event more generally in the country of the Gadarenes, or else that he himself was unacquainted with the smaller place (*cf.* note 2). Beyond this the geographical evidence is purely negative.

2. Though a general acquaintance with Jewish customs and institutions on the part of the reader is assumed in all of the gospels, and hence does not of itself point to Jewish readers, yet the extent of this in the first gospel is worthy of notice. Compare, for example, Matthew's references to the Jewish rulers (2:1, 22; 14:1) with

Luke's (2:1, 2; 3:1, 2), or his unexplained mention of the Jewish custom of ceremonial cleansing (15:2) with Mark's detailed explanation (7:3, 4). The seeming exception in 27:15 is not properly such. The custom of releasing a prisoner at the passover season, not otherwise known to us, was probably not of Jewish but of Roman origin, and since the government of Judea had changed several times in the generation or more between the death of Jesus and the writing of the gospel, it is probable that the custom had so long ago ceased that even to Jews it was a matter of unfamiliar history.

3. The number of argumentative quotations from the Old Testament introduced by the writer, and the almost total absence of such quotations from Mark and Luke—John has more than Mark and Luke, but fewer than Matthew—suggest also Jewish readers. It is certainly not decisive evidence, since arguments from Scripture early became the common property of Christians, both Jewish and gentile. The extent and prominence of the Scripture argument count for something, but the decisive word must be said on the basis of the *nature* of the argument which this gospel founds on its quotations. (See III.)

4. The use of Jewish descriptive titles (see the passages cited under I, 1, d), the reporting of the words of Jesus which emphasized his mission to the Jews (10:5, 6; 15:24), and of other teachings which would be of special interest to Jews (11:14; 12:5, 6; 17:24; 23:16-22—all peculiar to this gospel), and the fact that the great discourses of Jesus, notably the sermon on the mount (chaps. 5-7), are reported in a form adapting them to interest the Jewish mind especially, are of more decisive

significance, and all indicate that the writer has in mind mainly Jewish readers. Still more significant, though here also the full significance will appear only in relation to the purpose of the book, are the passages referred to above which foreshadow the downfall of Judaism (8:11, 12; 12:38-45; 21:43; 22:1-14; 23:35, 36; 24:2; 27:25). The use of the term "gentiles" as a designation of religion rather than of nationality (5:47, etc.) suggests the same thing, but is shown by 1 Cor. 5:1; 10:20; 12:2, to be possible in a writing addressed directly to gentile Christians; its occurrence, therefore, tends only to indicate that the book was not intended for non-Christian gentiles. The use of the term "Jews" (28:15) in the way so common in the fourth gospel is not only a mark of the Christian point of view of the Jewish writer, but tends in some degree to indicate that he wrote for those who, though Jews in nationality, now distinguished themselves from the rest of the nation by their Christianity.

III. THE PURPOSE WITH WHICH THE EVANGELIST WROTE

Alike the material and the general structure of the book suggest that we have to do here with a work which is in a sense historical or biographical. The material is mainly narrative in form, consisting of reports of deeds done and discourses uttered on certain occasions, not of discussion or formal argument by the writer of the book. It is a history, however, which gathers around the person of Jesus; only such events and persons as stand in immediate relation to him are spoken of, and these only in so far as they are related to him. The book falls into six main parts (*cf.* the analysis at the end of this chapter), representing periods of the life of Jesus which are

arranged in chronological order, from his birth to his resurrection.

Yet before it is decided that, because the material is of a biographical character and the main structure chronological, therefore the end of the writer is attained when he has given an historically correct representation of the life of Jesus, or even, perhaps, when he has told such facts about the life of Jesus as are known to him, certain other considerations must be taken into account. It must be remembered that it was in accordance with the literary method of the first Christian century and of the adjacent periods to employ historical material for argumentative purposes, and that, too, without casting the material into the form of an argument, or even stating anywhere in the course of the narrative what the facts were intended to prove. It was assumed that the reader or hearer would be shrewd enough to discover this for himself, and this assumption was apparently amply justified.

This use of historical material for argumentative purposes, this clothing of argument in narrative form, finds several clear illustrations in the New Testament. In the discourse of Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth, as related in Luke 4:16-30, Jesus replies to the thought of the Nazarenes, which they have not even openly expressed, by relating two events from Old Testament history; he does not state what these events prove, and modern interpreters are somewhat puzzled to tell precisely what he intended to prove by them. But there is no doubt that he intended that they should teach something not directly expressed in them, and that the Nazarene congregation so understood him. The speeches in the book of Acts are almost all of them of the same character,

from the speech of Peter on the day of Pentecost down to the later speeches of Paul. The two best illustrations are furnished by the speech of Stephen before the council, which is very evidently of argumentative purpose, yet which leaves the purpose so entirely unstated that most readers today probably entirely fail to perceive it, and the speech of Paul at Pisidian Antioch, which has the same characteristics, only less strongly marked. The fourth gospel furnishes an illustration of a book almost wholly made up of narrative material (including in that term conversations and discourses assigned to certain occasions), yet explicitly stated by the writer to have been written with the purpose that the readers might believe a certain doctrinal proposition, this again for the purpose of producing a certain moral result (20:30, 31). The book of Acts also, though the writer has not stated a definite argumentative purpose, is almost universally admitted to have been written for such a purpose; precisely what the purpose was interpreters still dispute.

In view of this well-established literary custom, of which there are abundant examples in the New Testament literature itself, it is only natural to ask whether our gospel also gives evidence of such a purpose on the part of its writer. Such evidence does, in fact, appear the moment we carry our study of the structure of the book beyond a division into its six main parts. The first main division, though including only material pertaining to the ancestry, birth, and infancy of Jesus, yet makes an evidential use of every event which it relates, pointing out how in each of the narrated facts Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled in Jesus. The Galilean ministry is scarcely less evidently constructed on a plan which is more logical than

chronological, the whole constituting an exposition of the nature of the kingdom of heaven, the way in which it must be received, and the way in which the Jews did actually receive it, foreshadowing their rejection of the Messiah, and their own consequent downfall (*cf.* the analysis under v). The passion week, though the material is, with a few significant exceptions, apparently arranged on a chronological plan, is yet so treated as to present the evidence for the fact that Christ and his kingdom were explicitly and clearly presented to the Jews for their acceptance, with warning of the consequences to them of rejection, and that in the face of such presentation and such warning they definitely rejected Christ and the kingdom.

But if the book has an argumentative purpose, which is either the dominant one or one which is co-ordinate with a more distinctly historical aim, precisely what is it that the author conceives his narrative to prove, and of which he wishes to convince his readers? The answer must be gained by observing on what the writer lays emphasis. Notice, then, what the passages already cited have in part shown, the characteristic ideas of this gospel. The writer believes in the Old Testament, and holds that its messianic prophecies are fulfilled in Jesus (1:23, etc.); Jesus himself held to the divine and permanent authority of the Old Testament ethical teaching (5:17 ff.; 15:3 ff., etc.), though indirectly criticising the statutory legislation or affirming its temporary character (5:21-48 *passim*; 9:14-17; 15:10-20; 19:8); he addressed himself to the Jews, announced the near approach of the kingdom of heaven, adapted his instruction to their point of view (see all the discourses); limited his own personal mission

to them (15:24), and instructed his disciples when he sent them out to do the same (10:5, 6); when, despite the fact that multitudes followed him and true disciples were won, it became evident that the leaders of the people would reject him, he warned them of the danger of such rejection (8:11, 12; 12:38-45; *cf.* the words of John the Baptist, 3:9), and as opposition grew and approached its culmination in the determination to put him to death, he scathingly rebuked the Pharisees, under whose influence the nation was rejecting its Messiah (chap. 23, especially vs. 13), announced with increasing distinctness the direful results of such rejection to the nation and to Judaism itself, even definitely declaring the rejection of the nation by God (see 21:33-46; 22:1-14; but especially 21:42, 43; 22:7; 23:36, 38; 24:2); and finally, when the rejection which he had foreseen had come to pass, and had been succeeded by his death and triumphant resurrection, he commissioned his disciples, no longer to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel only, but to make disciples of all nations (28:19).

These are characteristics which are not common to all our gospels; they are, in large part, peculiar to Matthew. And they reveal as the motive of this argument in narrative form the purpose to prove that Jesus is the true Messiah of the Jews; that he announced and founded the kingdom of God, expounding its true nature, and setting forth its relation to the Old Testament religion; that he came, first of all, to the Jewish nation; that, when they showed signs of a disposition not to receive his message, he warned them that the consequence of such rejection would be that the kingdom would be taken from them; that, in fact, they did in the face of all this warning and

instruction reject Jesus and put him to death; and that, consequently, the kingdom ceased to be in any distinctive sense Jewish, and in place of the old national dispensation there was created by Jesus himself, the true Jewish Messiah, a kingdom of all nations; thus, universal Christianity, freed from all national restrictions or peculiarly Jewish institutions, becomes the true successor of the Old Testament religion; the true Jew must be a follower of Jesus, and, in consequence, leave Judaism behind.

It is important to perceive clearly all the elements of this purpose. The author's aim is by no means attained when he has advanced evidence that Jesus is the Messiah. He reaches his goal only when, with this as the first step of his argument, he has shown that Jesus the Messiah founded a kingdom of universal scope, abolishing all Jewish limitations.

IV. OTHER PROBLEMS IN THE LIGHT OF THE PURPOSE

If this is a correct exposition of the specific aim of the book, it affords help in answering several other questions. Thus it gives a more definite answer to the inquiry what readers the writer had especially in mind (*cf.* II). It becomes clear that the book was intended, not for Jews as such, but especially for *Jewish Christians*. Were the book designed simply to prove the messiahship of Jesus, it might be supposed to be addressed to unconverted Jews and intended to persuade them to accept Jesus as the Christ. But if the argument for the messiahship of Jesus is but the first step of the whole, and if the ultimate purpose is to convince the reader, on historical grounds, that Christianity is not a national but a universal religion, that the old limitations of Judaism, though valid in their own

time, have, by the Jews' rejection of the Messiah, been broken down, this is evidently a line of thought which would be addressed to a Christian, either to persuade him to abandon his narrow Judaistic type of Christianity, or to dissuade him from turning back from Christianity to Judaism itself. Were the book less careful to recognize the legitimacy of the Old Testament, and the primary mission of Jesus to the Jews, and, in general, to adapt its argument to the Jewish point of view, its contention for a universal Christianity might seem to point to gentile Christians as the readers whom the writer had in mind. But faced, as it constantly is, to the thought of the Jew, such a destination for the book is excluded.

But while intended for Jewish Christian readers, the book is emphatically *not of a Judaistic cast*. It is even more directly opposed to the Judaizing type of Christianity than most of the writings of Paul which deal with that question. The apostle to the gentiles confined himself for the most part to defending the right of the gentiles to believe in Jesus and enter into all the privileges of Christians without becoming subject to the law. Of course, the logic of this position involved a like freedom ultimately for the Jew, and Paul could, on occasion, insist upon this (Gal. 2:15-19; Eph. 2:14-16), yet always for the sake of the gentile, whose interests he, as the apostle of the gentiles, was concerned to defend. But this gospel, addressed to Jewish Christians, shows from the teaching and conduct of Jesus that for the Jew also the old régime has ended; the nation that rejected the Messiah is itself rejected; its temple, the center of ritual and worship, is overthrown; its house is left unto it desolate; the kingdom of God is taken from it and given unto a nation

bringing forth the fruits thereof. The Old Testament foundation of the kingdom is not for a moment repudiated, but, on the basis of the teaching of the Old Testament and of the words of Jesus the Christ, the Christian church, drawn from all nations and having no special relation to the temple or Judaism, is shown to be the inheritor of the kingdom.

In the light of this purpose of the book, its *unity* is clearly evident. From the assertion in its first verse that Jesus is the Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham, to the commission which in its closing paragraph this Christ, now risen from the dead, gives to his apostles to make disciples of all nations, one thought dominates it. This is no patchwork put together by several hands working with different conceptions, or by one editor whose only thought was to include all the evangelic material that he possessed. The writer may have employed as sources of his book other gospel writings; the resemblance of some of the material to that which is contained in the other gospels seems to show that he had such sources; but, whether so or not, he has wrought all his material into a real book, with a definite course of thought and a clearly defined aim.

Nor can it be doubted that the writer had before him *a definite situation*, a practical problem to solve, not a merely theoretical proposition to prove. He is a man of thought, even of a reflective turn of mind; but his book is far from being a mere meditative study. Though so different in form and style, it reminds us by its purpose of the epistle to the Hebrews, which was written to those who, having received the knowledge of the truth, were in danger of drawing back and of not holding fast the con-

fession of their faith (Heb. 10: 19-39). There is much to suggest that our evangelist wrote, not indeed for the same persons, but for those who were subject to a similar danger. Was it, perhaps, for those who, having till now held fast to Judaism, only adding to it faith in Jesus as the Messiah, but now having seen the destruction of Jerusalem, were in danger of surrendering their Christianity under the influence of the blow which had fallen upon Judaism, and of the argument that he was surely not the Messiah who could not avert such disaster from his own people? To save them from this danger it would be needful to separate Judaism and Christianity in their minds; while confirming their faith in Jesus as the Christ of prophecy, to show them that he had himself announced precisely that which was now happening, and had in anticipation of it founded a Christianity which was at the same time the legitimate successor of the Old Testament religion and free from its national restrictions. But whether or not it was the destruction of Jerusalem which furnished the immediate occasion for the book, it seems impossible to doubt that it was written primarily to convince Jewish Christians that the religion of Jesus was not merely the Judaism of the temple, *plus* a belief in Jesus as the Messiah, but a world-religion, freed from all bounds and restrictions that were local and national. It carries the doctrine of the apostle Paul to the conclusion which Paul saw to be involved in it, but to which he was not wont himself to press it. (See Appended Note IV, pp. 102 ff.)

V. THE PLAN OF THE GOSPEL

The following is an attempt to exhibit the plan of the book as it lay in the writer's mind:

ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

- I. THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF JESUS. The advent of the Messiah in accordance with prophecy. chaps. 1, 2
 1. The genealogy of Jesus, showing his Abrahamic and Davidic descent. 1: 1-17
 2. The annunciation to Joseph, and the birth of Jesus from the virgin, as prophesied. 1: 18-25
 3. The visit of the magi, giving occasion to the testimony of the Jewish scribes that Bethlehem was the prophesied birthplace of the Messiah. 2: 1-12
 4. The flight into Egypt, fulfilling prophecy. 2: 13-15
 5. The murder of the children of Bethlehem, fulfilling prophecy. 2: 16-18
 6. The return from Egypt and removal to Nazareth, fulfilling prophecy. 2: 19-23
- II. PREPARATION FOR THE PUBLIC WORK OF JESUS. Events preparatory to the founding of the kingdom. 3: 1—4: 11
 1. The preparatory ministry of John the Baptist, in accordance with prophecy. 3: 1-12
 2. The baptism of Jesus, accompanied by the descent of the Spirit and the voice from heaven. 3: 13-17
 3. The temptation in the wilderness, settling the principles on which his work was to be done. 4: 1-11
- III. THE MINISTRY IN GALILEE. The kingdom founded and its fundamental principles set forth. 4: 12—18: 35
 1. The beginning of Jesus' work in Galilee. 4: 12-25
 - a) The removal to Capernaum and the beginning of preaching. 4: 12-17
 - b) The call of the four to evangelistic work. 4: 18-22
 - c) Jesus' early work in Galilee; his widespread fame. 4: 23-25

2. The sermon on the mount; ⁹ the ethical principles of the kingdom. chaps. 5-7
3. A group of events, each of which either illustrates or attests the authority which in the sermon he has assumed. 8: 1—9: 34
 - a) A leper cleansed. 8: 1-4
 - b) The centurion's servant healed. 8: 5-13
 - c) Peter's wife's mother healed. 8: 14-18
 - d) Answers to disciples about following him. 8: 19-22
 - e) The stilling of the tempest. 8: 23-27
 - f) The Gadarene demoniacs. 8: 28-34
 - g) A paralytic healed and his sins forgiven.¹⁰ 9: 1-8
 - h) The call of Matthew. 9: 9-13
 - i) Answer concerning fasting. 9: 14-17
 - j) A ruler's daughter raised, and a woman healed. 9: 18-26
 - k) Two blind men and a dumb demoniac healed. 9: 27-34
4. Discourse to the twelve apostles on sending them out; the proclamation of the kingdom. 9: 35—10: 42
5. Events showing the attitude of various persons toward the gospel, and teaching concerning the spirit in which the gospel must be received. chaps. 11, 12
 - a) Jesus' answer to the message from John the Baptist. 11: 1-6
 - b) The captious spirit of the Jews condemned by Jesus. 11: 7-19
 - c) Woes against the cities which had not repented at the preaching of Jesus. 11: 20-24
 - d) The thanksgiving of Jesus that the gospel is plain to the simple-minded, and his invitation to the heavy-laden. 11: 25-30

⁹It is worthy of notice that each alternate section of this Part III (see 2, 4, 6, 8) is a discourse of Jesus: all of these discourses treat of the kingdom of heaven, and together constitute an exposition of the kingdom in its various phases.

¹⁰Note here the relation implied between power and authority.

- e) Plucking grain on the sabbath; the bigotry of the Pharisees rebuked. 12: 1-8
- f) Healing of the withered hand on the sabbath; bigotry issuing in murderous purpose. 12: 9-14
- g) Jesus heals many; the gentleness of his ministry. 12: 15-21
- h) Jesus heals a blind and dumb demoniac; the Pharisees charge him with collusion with Satan, and Jesus warns them of the danger of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. 12: 22-37
- i) The Pharisees seek a sign; Jesus' answer. 12: 38-42
- j) The man from whom the unclean spirit has gone out; a parable of the Jewish nation. 12: 43-45
- k) The real basis of relationship to Christ. 12: 46-50
- 6. Discourse of parables, chiefly concerning the growth of the kingdom. 13: 1-52
- 7. The events of the latter part of the Galilean ministry, illustrating especially the increasing unbelief and opposition of the Pharisees, and the instruction of the disciples, particularly from 16: 21 ^u on, in preparation for his death. 13: 53—17: 27

^u Chap. 16: 21 marks an epoch which is in a sense more important than that indicated at 19: 1, and there is certainly something to be said for the view that the author meant to mark here the beginning of a new division of his book and of a new period of the work of Jesus, characterized by the preparation of his disciples for his death, as the ministry up to this time had been mainly devoted to the proclamation of the kingdom to the people (*cf.* 4: 17, and notice the similarity of the phrase to that used in 16: 21). Yet, on the whole, it seems probable that the great divisions of the book are made on the basis of external characteristics, mainly geographical. The periods thus made are marked in general by distinctive internal characteristics also. In the case of the close of the Galilean ministry, however, the change in internal characteristics antedates somewhat the change of place. At the time denoted by 16: 21 it is already clear that he must die at the hands of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; and, moreover, that the minds of his disciples must be prepared for this event. From this time on, the evangelist indicates, this preparation fills a prominent place in Jesus' work, and his face is in a

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| a) The unbelief of the Nazarenes. | 13: 53-58 |
| b) The death of John the Baptist at the hands of Herod. | 14: 1-12 |
| c) The feeding of the five thousand. | 14: 13-22 |
| d) Jesus walking on the water, and Peter's attempt to do so. | 14: 23-36 |
| e) Eating with unwashen hands; the Pharisees' criticism, and Jesus' answer. | 15: 1-20 |
| f) The faith of a Canaanitish woman. | 15: 21-28 |
| g) A multitude healed by the sea of Galilee. | 15: 29-31 |
| h) The feeding of the four thousand. | 15: 32-39 |
| i) Pharisees and Sadducees demand a sign; Jesus' answer. | 16: 1-4 |
| j) The leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees; Jesus' warning and the slowness of the disciples to understand. | 16: 5-12 |
| k) Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah. | 16: 13-20 |
| l) Jesus begins to instruct his disciples concerning his death and resurrection. | 16: 21-28 |
| m) The transfiguration, wherein Jesus is declared to be the Son of God. | 17: 1-13 |
| n) The epileptic boy healed. | 17: 14-21 |
| o) Jesus again foretells his death. | 17: 22, 23 |
| p) The payment of the temple tax and Jesus' instruction of Peter concerning relation to the temple worship. | 17: 24-27 |
| 8. Discourse on ambition, humility, and forgiveness; the personal relations of the citizens of the kingdom to one another. | chap. 18 |
| IV. JOURNEY THROUGH PEREA TO JERUSALEM. Jesus continues the instruction of his disciples, especially in the latter part, concerning his death. chaps. 19, 20 | |
| 1. The departure from Galilee. | 19: 1, 2 |
| 2. Answer to questions concerning divorce. | 19: 3-12 |
- sense toward Jerusalem, where he is to die. The change in the character of his teaching and the change of place both result from the same cause; yet it is not unnatural that the former should precede the latter by a brief interval.

3. Christ blesses little children, and reproves his disciples. 19: 13-15
4. Answer to the rich young man concerning eternal life. 19: 16-22
5. Instruction to the disciples concerning riches as an obstacle to entrance into the kingdom. 19: 23-26
6. Concerning the rewards of discipleship. 19: 27—20: 16
7. Jesus foretells his crucifixion. 20: 17-19
8. The ambition of James and John, and Jesus' answer concerning suffering and rewards in his service. 20: 20-28
9. The two blind men near Jericho, who hail Jesus as son of David. 20: 29-34

V. THE CLOSING MINISTRY IN JERUSALEM. [Passion week.] Jesus' last offer of himself to the nation as the Messiah, and his final rejection. chaps. 21-27

1. Symbolic proclamation of himself as the Messiah. 21: 1-17
 - a) The triumphal entry. 21: 1-11
 - b) The cleansing of the temple. 21: 12-17
2. Symbolic prediction to the disciples of the rejection of the nation. 21: 18-22
3. The mutual rejection. The Jews resist the claim of Jesus; he reiterates warning and prediction. 21: 23—23: 39
 - a) The Jews' challenge of his authority to cleanse the temple, and his answer to them. 21: 23-27
 - b) Three parables of warning. 21: 28—22: 14
 - (1) The parable of the two sons. 21: 28-32
 - (2) The parable of the husbandmen, predicting the rejection of the nation. 21: 33-46
 - (3) The parable of the marriage of the king's son. 22: 1-14
 - c) Three questions of the Jewish rulers. 22: 15-40
 - (1) Concerning paying tribute. 22: 15-22
 - (2) Concerning the resurrection. 22: 23-33
 - (3) Concerning the greatest commandment. 22: 34-40

- d) Jesus' question concerning the Christ. 22: 41-46
- e) Jesus' great discourse against the Pharisees. chap. 23
- 4. Prophetic discourse to the disciples concerning the end of the nation and the end of the age. chaps. 24, 25
- 5. Preparation for the death of Jesus. 26: 1-46
 - a) By his enemies; the plot to put him to death. 26: 1-5
 - b) By his friends; the anointing. 26: 6-13
 - c) By Judas; the bargain to betray him. 26: 14-16
 - d) By Jesus himself. 26: 17-46
 - (1) The last 'supper. 26: 17-30
 - (2) The warning to the disciples. 26: 31-35
 - (3) The prayer and the agony. 26: 36-46
- 6. The consummation of the rejection of Jesus by the Jews. 26: 47—27: 66
 - a) The arrest. 26: 47-56
 - b) The trial. 26: 57—27: 31
 - c) The crucifixion and the death. 27: 32-56
 - d) The burial. 27: 57-61
 - e) The watch at the tomb. 27: 62-66
- VI. THE APPEARANCES OF JESUS AFTER THE RESURRECTION. The triumph of the Messiah over his enemies and the commission of the disciples to win all nations to him. chap. 28
 - 1. The appearance on the resurrection morning. 28: 1-10
 - 2. The report of the watch; attempt of the Jews to suppress the evidence. 28: 11-15
 - 3. The appearance in Galilee; the commission of the disciples. 28: 16-20

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

[The following manuals of introduction are useful not only for the gospel of Matthew, but also for the synoptic gospels generally, and in most cases for the fourth gospel as well:

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- BACON, *Introduction to the New Testament* (1924).
 BURKITT, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission* (1921).
 BURKITT, *The Earliest Sources of the Life of Jesus* (1922).
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 PFLEIDERER, *Primitive Christianity*, Vol. II (1909).
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 VON SODEN, *The History of Early Christian Literature* (1906).
 WELLHAUSEN, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1905).
 WERNLE, *Sources of Our Knowledge of the Life of Jesus* (1907).

It is worth while to consult further the introductory sections of Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels* (1909), Loisy, *Les Évangiles Synoptiques* (1907), and the various commentaries in the *International Critical* series, the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, the *Bible for Home and School*, the *New Century Bible*, the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, or the *Westminster Commentaries*. In German, Holtzmann's *Der Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, Weiss's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, and Meyer's *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar* are especially recommended.]

CHAPTER II

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK

I. THE AUTHOR

THE second gospel, like the first, contains in itself no statement of its authorship. Reserving for brief mention at a later point the testimony of ancient tradition to the name and identity of the author, we consider first the evidence which the book itself furnishes concerning the characteristics and point of view of its writer.

1. *His nationality as it appears in the book itself.*—Clear indications of the nationality of the author are rare and hardly decisive. His references to Jewish affairs and to Palestinian localities imply a familiarity with both such as would be most natural in the case of a Palestinian Jew, but would not be impossible to a gentile, especially a Christian gentile who had lived in Palestine, or even to one who had obtained his knowledge of these things, along with his knowledge of the life of Jesus, from one who had been a resident of Palestine. In other words, the evidence suggests a Palestinian author or a Palestinian source of the narrative.

Thus the book speaks of Judea, Jerusalem, and the wilderness that was in that vicinity (1:4, 5, 12; 10:32; 11:1; 11:27); of the river Jordan (1:4, 9); of Jericho (10:46); of Bethany (11:1, 12) and the Mount of Olives (11:1; 13:3); of Galilee (1:9, 14, 28, 39; 3:7; 9:30) and the Sea of Galilee (1:16; 3:7; 4:1, 35-41; 5:1, 21; 6:45, 47 ff.; 7:31); of the cities of

Galilee, Nazareth (1:9; *cf.* 1:24 and 6:1), Capernaum (1:21; 2:1; 9:33), implying in the connection that it was on or near the Sea of Galilee (with 1:21 *cf.* 1:16, and with 2:1 *cf.* 2:13), but adding no description of its location (*cf.* Matt. 4:13 ff.), and Dalmanutha;¹ of the tract of Gennesaret (6:53), and of the regions adjacent to Judea and Galilee (3:7, 8; 5:1,² 20; 7:24, 31; 8:27; 9:2; 10:1). The author makes occasional incidental reference to the political status and rulers of Judea and Galilee (6:14;³ 6:17;⁴ 15:1 ff.⁵). He refers somewhat frequently to the parties and classes of people among the Jews, as also to Jewish customs and usages, usually without comment or explanation (1:22, 44; 2:6, 18, 24; 3:6, 22; 5:22, 35; 7:1-13;⁶ 8:11, 15, 31; 10:2 ff., 33; 11:15, 27; 12:13 ff., 18, 28, 38-40; 13:1; 14:1, 12 ff., 53

¹The location of Dalmanutha has never been satisfactorily determined. See HENDERSON in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*. [Also NESTLE in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.]

²*Cf.* chap. i, p. 2, n. 2.

³The designation of Herod Antipas as king is inaccurate, but follows perhaps the popular manner of speech.

⁴According to JOSEPHUS, *Antiquities*, xviii, 5, 4, Herodias was the wife, not of Philip, tetrarch of the northeastern provinces, but of his half-brother Herod, who lived and died a private person. Mark's statement must be explained either by supposing that this Herod was also known as Philip or by attributing it to a confusion between Herod the husband of Herodias and his brother Philip, husband of Salome. See HEADLAM in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Herod," Vol. I, pp. 359a, 360b. [Also ARMSTRONG in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, art. "Herod," Vol. I, pp. 721 ff]

⁵Concerning this statement of Pilate's custom, see chap. i, p. 11; but observe also that Mark's language even less than Matthew's intimates that this was a general custom of the procurators of Judea.

⁶In this passage vss. 3, 4 contain an explanation of Jewish custom, implying, however, not so much a non-Jewish writer as non-Jewish readers. See also 12:18 and 15:42.

ff.; 15:1, 10, 11, 31, 42, 43. In four passages he uses Aramaic words, in each case explaining them (5:41; 7:11, 34; 15:34; cf. 15:42, where, though the word is not Aramaic, but a Greek word used in a technical Jewish sense, he explains its meaning). To these positive evidences may be added the negative fact of the almost total absence of quotations from the Old Testament scriptures,⁷ which suggests either that the writer was not a Jew or that he was writing specially for non-Jewish readers.

2. *The author's relation to the events.*—It has frequently been pointed out that the narrative of this gospel abounds in details of time, place, and circumstances, and the feelings and manner of Jesus and the other persons of the narrative (1:13, 20, 41; 3:5, 9, 19-21; 4:35-41; 5:3-5, etc.). These details, though sometimes explained as the work of the writer's fancy, are more justly regarded as indicating that the writer was an eyewitness of the events or drew his material from those who were such.

3. *His religious position.*—That the writer, whatever his nationality, was a Christian is evident from his first phrase, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God," and is confirmed by the tone of the whole book. Citation of particular passages is unnecessary.

But none of this evidence suffices to locate the author definitely. We may, then, properly inquire whether there is any outside evidence that will lead us to some more definite conclusion. This brings us to—

⁷ The only quotation in this gospel made by the evangelist himself is that in 1:2, 3; the words in the A. V. 15:28 do not belong to the true text, and all the other quotations of Scripture language occur in his report of the language of others, usually of Jesus. Of these a list of twenty-three, besides forty-four briefer references to the Old Testament, is given in SWETE, *Gospel according to St. Mark*, pp. lxx ff.

4. *The testimony of tradition concerning the authorship of the book.*—This is conveyed to us in two ways.

a) The ancient manuscripts of this gospel uniformly bear the title *Κατα Μαρκον*, "According to Mark," or *Ευαγγελιον κατα Μαρκον*, "Gospel according to Mark," or its equivalent.⁸

b) Ancient writers, from Papias on, speak of a gospel of Mark, but almost as constantly represent the apostle Peter as the chief source of his information. Though the earliest of these writers do not by description or quotation definitely identify the book to which they refer with our present second gospel, yet the testimonies constitute a continuous series down to the latter part of the second century, when abundant quotations identify it beyond all question. The following are some of the most ancient of these testimonies:

And the presbyter also said this: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately whatever he remembered, not, however, recording in order the things that were said or done by the Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow him; but afterward, as I said, [he followed] Peter, who adapted his teaching to the need of the occasion, but not as if he were making a systematic arrangement of the words of the Lord. So that Mark did not err at all in writing some things as he remembered them. For he was careful for one thing, not to pass over any of the things that he had heard or to state anything falsely in them. (EUSEBIUS, *H. E.*, iii, 39, quoted from PAPIAS.)

Matthew indeed published a written gospel also among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul in Rome were preaching the gospel and founding a church. But after the departure of these, Mark the disciple and interpreter of Peter, he also having written the things preached by Peter, transmitted them to us. (EUSEBIUS, *H. E.*, v, 8, quoted from IRENÆUS.)

⁸ See chap. i, p. 8, n. 7.

So greatly, however, did the light of piety enlighten the minds of Peter's hearers that it was not sufficient to hear but once, or to receive the unwritten teaching of the divine preaching, but with all manner of entreaties they importuned Mark, whose gospel we have, and who was a follower of Peter, that he should leave them in writing a memorial of the teaching which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man, and thus became the cause of that writing which is called the gospel according to Mark. They say also that the apostle [Peter], having learned what had been done, the Spirit having revealed it to him, was pleased with the zeal of the men and authorized the work for use by the churches. This is stated by Clement in the sixth book of his Institutions, and is corroborated by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis. (EUSEBIUS, *H. E.*, ii, 15.)

Paul therefore had Titus as his interpreter, as also the blessed Peter had Mark, whose gospel was composed Peter narrating and he [Mark] writing. (JEROME, *Epistola cxx, ad Hedibiam.*)⁹

Despite the inconsistencies of these statements with one another as to the extent and character of Peter's influence on the gospel, it is entirely evident that the early church both attributed this gospel to Mark and believed that he was in some way indebted for his facts, in part at least, to the apostle Peter. The Mark referred to in the tradition is undoubtedly the John Mark spoken of in the New Testament in Acts 12:12, 25; 13:5, 13; 15:37, 39; Col. 4:10, 11; Philem. 24; 1 Pet. 5:13; 2 Tim. 4:11. From these passages it appears that Mark was a contemporary of Jesus, but probably only to a limited extent an eyewitness of the events of Jesus' life.

These three factors of the evidence—the internal evidence of the book, the testimony of tradition, and the statements of the New Testament concerning Mark—are self-consistent, and, though not amounting to a demon-

⁹ For other testimonies of antiquity see CHARTERIS, *Canonicity*.

stration, certainly afford reasonable ground for the conclusion that we have in the second gospel a work of John Mark, at different times a companion of Peter and of Paul; a work based in considerable part on the discourses of the apostle Peter to which Mark had listened, and in which Peter had related many things concerning the life of Jesus. It is presumably to Peter that the narrative is indebted for most of those details that suggest an eyewitness. What other sources Mark may have had it is impossible now to determine.¹⁰

II. THE READERS FOR WHOM THE BOOK WAS INTENDED

Reference has already been made to the internal indications that the second gospel was intended, not for Jewish readers, but for gentiles. The almost total absence of quotations from or references to the Old Testament in the words of the evangelist himself, the absence of any special adaptation of the narrative or of the teachings of Jesus to the Jewish need or point of view, such as is so conspicuous in the first gospel, together with the occasional explanation of Jewish customs and modes of thought (7:2, 3; 12:18), and of Aramaic words or Jewish technical terms (3:17; 5:41; 7:11, 34; 15:34, 42¹¹), all suggest that the author has in mind that his

¹⁰ The view of BADHAM, *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew*, that the picturesque details of Mark's gospel are embellishments added by the evangelist to narratives taken from an older source, and that of WENDT, *Lehre Jesu*, Part I, pp. 9-44, especially pp. 10, 36, 41, 43, that the sources of Mark to the number of eight can be discovered by literary analysis, both seem to me wholly improbable.

¹¹ *Σατανᾶς* in 1:13, *Βεεζεβοῦλ* in 3:22, *Ῥαββουεὶ* in 10:51, are left without explanation, the first two probably as being proper names which required no explanation, the latter perhaps as a word sufficiently known, even among non-Jewish Christians, not to require explanation. *Ἀββᾶ*

book will be read by gentiles rather than by Jews. With this agrees also the incidental testimony of tradition quoted above. Nor is there anything specially improbable in the tradition that Mark wrote at Rome and for the Romans.¹² The occurrence of Latin words in the gospel has also been said to confirm this tradition, but quite clearly without sufficient ground. Although it contains ten Latin words, seven of these (*modius*, 4:21; *legio*, 5:9, 15; *denarius*, 6:37; 12:15; 14:5; *census*, 12:14; *quadrans*, 12:42; *flagello*, 15:15; *praetorium*, 15:16), are common to one or more of the other gospels and only three (*speculator*, 6:27; *sextarius*, 7:4, 8; *centurio*, 15:39, 44, 45) are peculiar to Mark.

Whether the gospel was intended for gentile Christians or for non-Christian gentiles can be determined, if at all, only on the basis of the evidence for the purpose of the book, which is still to be considered.

in 14:36 is explained by the immediately following *ὁ πατήρ*, though this is perhaps not a mere explanatory addition. Cf. SWETE, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, *ad loc.* On the general subject of Aramaic in the New Testament see KAUTZSCH, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, pp. 7-12; NEUBAUER, "Dialects Spoken in Palestine," in *Studia Biblica*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff., especially p. 56; SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People*, Div. II, Vol. I, pp. 8-10; 3d German ed., Vol. II, pp. 18-20; DALMAN, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 1-42. [The case for Aramaic originals for the four gospels is presented in the following works: TORREY, *The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels* (1912); and BURNEY, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922).]

¹² [The Roman provenance of the gospel of Mark has been demonstrated by the researches of B. W. Bacon. See particularly Bacon, *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* (1919) and his more recent work, *The Gospel of Mark* (1925).]

III. THE PURPOSE WITH WHICH THE BOOK WAS WRITTEN

In the absence of any statement by the author of the purpose with which he wrote, it is necessary to appeal solely to the evidence afforded by the content and arrangement of the book, and by the emphasis which it lays upon certain ideas or elements of the narrative.

At the outset, in the phrase which in effect contains the title of the book, Jesus is characterized as the Christ, the Son of God,¹³ and in the first event in which Jesus himself appears he heard the voice from heaven saying to him: "Thou art my beloved son; in thee I am well pleased." This naturally raises the question whether the first line of the gospel does not express the proposition which it is the purpose of the author in the rest of the book to prove. But does the book, as a whole, justify an affirmative answer to this question? Certainly the book is not in form an argument framed to support this proposition. Nor is it true that in the narrative Jesus is represented as affirming this proposition at the outset, and then devoting his ministry to the advancing of evidence to sustain it. But neither of these facts quite answers the question of the author's purpose. It is necessary to distinguish between the purpose which the writer aimed to accomplish and the form in which he presented his

¹³ The words "Son of God" (*υἱοῦ θεοῦ*) are lacking in a very few ancient authorities. Westcott and Hort place them in the margin, expressing the opinion that neither reading can be safely rejected. The strong evidence in their favor, and the early recognition of Jesus as Son of God in the narrative, seem to justify the treatment of this characterization as reflecting the author's conception of Jesus. SWETE, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, pp. lx, 1, expresses the opinion that the whole of this verse is probably due to a later hand. But this is a conjecture for which there is no external evidence.

material, as well as between the proposition which the writer put in the forefront of his book and that which Jesus put in the forefront of his ministry. What proposition the writer aimed to prove, or what impression he aimed to make, or what result he desired to accomplish, can be answered only by a careful study of the contents and structure of the book, and to this we must turn.

After a brief account of the ministry of John the Baptist, and an equally condensed narrative of the baptism and temptation of Jesus, the narrative passes at once into his Galilean ministry. This ministry begins with the announcement of the approach of the kingdom and a command to the people to repent. Jesus teaches the people, heals the sick, casts out demons, forgives sin, gathers disciples, makes for himself enemies. Yet, so far as the record shows, he gave no name to his office, and claimed for himself no title but "Son of man,"¹⁴ accepted none but "Sir" or "Master."

The effect of this evangelistic and healing work of Jesus was twofold. On the one hand, multitudes followed

¹⁴ Into the much-disputed question what the term "Son of man" meant, as used by Jesus of himself, there is not space to enter here. It is perhaps sufficient to observe that in view of the reticence concerning his messiahship which, according to this gospel, Jesus observed almost to the end of his ministry, it is impossible to suppose that the evangelist regarded the term "Son of man," by which Jesus is said publicly and almost from the beginning of his ministry to have designated himself, as a recognized equivalent of "Messiah." That the possibility that he was the Messiah was early discussed among the people (*cf.* the statement of Luke 3:15 concerning John the Baptist, and the titles with which the demoniacs addressed Jesus, Mark 3:11, etc.) is not intrinsically improbable. But this does not imply that Jesus had declared himself to be the Messiah, and it is worthy of note that those who address him as Messiah never employ the term "Son of man." [See BURTON, *Source Book for the Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 217-224.]

him, chiefly to be healed; a few disciples attached themselves to him, and from these he selected, after a time, the Twelve whom he instructed and sent out to do the same kind of work that he himself was doing. From these Twelve at length he called forth on the journey to Cæsarea Philippi what was apparently their first explicit acknowledgment of his messiahship.¹⁵ Then, forbidding his disciples to speak to others of him as the Messiah, he went on to instruct them further concerning his mission, telling them, what was entirely out of character with their conception of the Messiah, that he must suffer and die, rejected by his nation, and that they, as his disciples, must be ready, with like devotion to the interests of their fellow-men, to suffer a like fate. From this time on he continued his instruction of the disciples, partly in specific preparation of them for his death, partly in the way of more general instruction concerning the things of the kingdom.

On the other hand, Jesus met with opposition. His own family thought him beside himself; his fellow-townsmen had little faith in him; the scribes and Pharisees opposed him, at first not pronouncedly, but with increasing bitterness. This contrariety of result was in

¹⁵ This does not imply that the disciples had not from the first suspected, or even believed, that Jesus was the Messiah. The representation of this gospel is rather that Jesus did not thrust his messianic claim into the foreground; did not make recognition of it a test and condition of discipleship; did not, so to speak, conduct his campaign on the basis of it; but, on the contrary, kept it in the background, both with his disciples and with the people at large, until each had had the opportunity to gain from Jesus' own conduct and character a conception of messiahship somewhat akin to his own. He did not define himself by the term "Messiah," but he defined "Messiah" by himself. Thus this term represented for the disciples, as they grew in knowledge of their Master, an ever-changing and enlarging conception.

accordance with Jesus' own teaching that the sowing of the seed of the kingdom would be followed, not by uniform harvests of good, but by diverse results and division of households. His assumption of authority in the temple, following close upon his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, in which he had for the first time tolerated the public declaration of himself as the Messiah, fanned into flame the opposition of his enemies. The Pharisees, who were his earliest opponents, joined now by the Sadducees and chief priests, determined upon his death. His trial gave occasion to a distinct avowal on his part that he was the Christ, the Son of God, and it was for this that he was condemned to death by the Jewish authorities.

His death, in which the opposition to him culminates, was speedily followed by his resurrection,¹⁶ verifying his prediction and vindicating his claims.

Thus the book gives a picture of the public career of Jesus which, taken as a whole, has a clearly defined character and great verisimilitude. Possessing, from the moment of his baptism, the first event in which he appears in the gospel, a clear definition of his own mission, he moves steadily on in the work of proclaiming the kingdom

¹⁶ Mark's story of the resurrection is incomplete in the gospel as we have it. Chap. 16:8 is the end of that which we have reason to believe came from the hand of Mark. Yet he certainly did not intend to close his gospel with the words, "They were afraid," and with no account at all of an appearance of Jesus after his resurrection. But the remainder of what he wrote, or intended to write, has in some way failed of transmission to us. For fuller discussion of the genuineness of the present conclusion see WESTCOTT AND HORT, *Greek Testament*, II, Appendix, pp. 28-51; BURGON, *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*; ROHRBACH, *Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums*. [GOODSPEED in *Expositor* (8th series), XVIII, pp. 155-60, Aug., 1919; STREETER, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 333 ff.; BACON, *The Gospel of Mark*, pp. 187-203.]

and revealing himself to men who, in the nature of the case, could receive that revelation only little by little. Not by argument, not chiefly by assertion, but by his life he reveals himself and his conception of the kingdom and the Messiah. Winning, by this revelation, both followers and foes, he teaches his disciples, as they are able to receive it, what his work and fate are to be, and what theirs, too, must be, and moves on, with clear foresight both of death and of triumph over death, to the culmination of his self-revelation in crucifixion and resurrection.

It is thus with Jesus in his public career that this book has to do. There is no story of the infancy. There is no genealogical table linking Jesus with the past and proving his Abrahamic and Davidic descent. The background of the life is Palestinian and Jewish, as it must have been to be true to the facts, but there is no emphasis upon the relations of Jesus to Judaism or the Old Testament. Quotations of Jesus from the Old Testament are reported, but the evangelist's own use of it is limited to his first sentence. The distinctly Jewish point of view, so clearly manifest in Matthew, for example, is wholly lacking. It is not Jesus in relation to the past, or the prophecies of the Messiah, but Jesus as he appeared to his contemporaries, a figure in, and a factor of, the history of his own times, that this gospel presents to us. The narrative is confined wholly to the most active period of Jesus' life, chiefly to the busy Galilean ministry and the still more crowded passion week. It is rapid, condensed, abrupt. It reminds one of the words of Peter: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him in the midst of you" (Acts 2:22), and "Jesus of Nazareth, how that God

anointed him with Holy Spirit and power, who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him" (Acts 10:38).

Such a presentation of Jesus has all the value of an argument, with little of its form, and possibly with no conscious argumentative aim. The structure of the book seems almost wholly unaffected by a purpose of the writer to convince his readers of any defined proposition. Not only is there lacking, as also in Matthew, the strictly argumentative structure, but there is little indication even of the arrangement of material in a certain order to facilitate the production of a certain impression (*cf.* n. 17, p. 42). Even in respect to the plan and method of Jesus, of which the book gives so distinct an impression, it does not appear that the book was written to prove that such was Jesus' method, but rather that it was written as it was because such was, in fact, the career of Jesus. This element is in the book, we are constrained to believe, because it was in the life. The writer tells the story of the life of Jesus as he knows it, naturally emphasizing the things which have impressed him. Because it has impressed him it will impress other men of like minds, and because of this fact it possesses argumentative value. But the argument is latent rather than explicit. There are men today to whom closely wrought argument, presenting a proposition and sustaining it by a series of reasons, means little, but to whom deeds of power—still more, a career of power—mean much. Such men are impressionable rather than reflective, emotional rather than logical. Such a man the New Testament leads us to believe Peter was, and there is not lacking a suggestion that John Mark was a man of the same character. Such a man, at any rate, we judge

the writer of this gospel to have been, and to such men especially would it appeal. It is adapted to lead them to share the author's conviction, announced in his first line, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God; or, if they already hold it, to hold it more firmly and intelligently. The book makes its appeal to the reader as it records that Jesus made his appeal to his contemporaries, not by argument adduced to prove his messiahship, but by the simple presentation of the life itself, leaving this life to make its own impression. As Jesus, believing from the beginning in his own messiahship and divine sonship, convinced his followers of it, not by affirmation or by argument, but by living, so the evangelist, holding at the outset to the messiahship of Jesus, depends, not on formulated argument, but on the story of the life to carry this conviction to his readers. The book differs in this respect from the life only in the incidental announcement of its thesis in its first line.

Is such a book intended to convince unbelievers or to instruct those who already believe? Certainly it could be used for either purpose. But the absence of anything like a controversial tone, the simple straightforwardness of the story, without comment, or even arrangement for argumentative purposes, leads us to think of it as a book written for Christians rather than for unbelievers, and chiefly for instruction rather than for conviction. That it was intended, as it has been maintained in chap. i, that Matthew was, to play a part in the controversies of the apostolic age of which we learn from Acts and the epistles, there is no evidence. The writer is certainly not a Judaistic Christian, but neither does he show any distinctly anti-Judaistic interest. He writes in an atmosphere, or

from a point of view, unaffected by these controversies. Its aim is undoubtedly edification, but it seeks this, not so much by convincing its readers of something they did not believe, or even by setting itself to confirm a conviction already held, as by informing them of facts which are useful to them to know. The book has argumentative value for believers and unbelievers, but it must be doubted whether its author thought of it as argumentative in any sense.

IV. THE PLAN OF THE BOOK

The following analysis is an attempt to show the contents and structure of the book as it lay in the mind of the writer, though the simplicity of the plan of the book renders such an analysis in part scarcely more than an enumeration of sections. Though we cannot affirm that Mark has in all cases given events in their chronological order, there is little or nothing to show that he ever intentionally varied from the order.¹⁷ And the rela-

¹⁷At one point only in the gospel is there any considerable indication of arrangement upon a topical plan involving a departure from chronological order, viz., in 2:1—3:6. This group of five short narratives certainly does exhibit the growth of the hostility of the scribes and Pharisees to Jesus, and this seems to be clearly the link of connection joining them. That they should have occurred thus in rapid succession seems somewhat improbable, and the plot to put him to death (3:6) strikes one as strange so early in the ministry. It is possible that the grouping here was that of one of Peter's discourses, and that 3:1-6, or at least vs. 6, is anachronistically narrated. Even this, however, must remain only a conjecture, and the general order of events in Mark remains, if not chronological, yet apparently the nearest approximation to such an arrangement that we possess. Cf. SWETE, *St. Mark*, pp. liii ff.; BRUCE, in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, Vol. I, pp. 27-32.

For an attempt to discover the true order of the events of Jesus' ministry on the basis of intrinsic probability and in large part independently of the order of any of the evangelists, see BRIGGS, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*.

tions of events to one another — the causal dependence of later events upon earlier ones — constrains us to believe that not only is the succession of the several periods of the record that also of the life, but that within these periods the order is, in the main, that of the events themselves.

ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL

I. INTRODUCTION: PREPARATION FOR THE PUBLIC WORK	
OF JESUS.	1: 1-13
1. Preaching of John the Baptist.	1: 1-8
2. Baptism of Jesus.	1: 9-11
3. Temptation in the wilderness.	1: 12, 13
II. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY.	1: 14-9: 50
1. The work begun and favorably received.	1: 14-45
<i>a</i>) Jesus begins preaching in Galilee.	1: 14, 15
<i>b</i>) Call of the four fishermen.	1: 16-20
<i>c</i>) A sabbath in Capernaum.	1: 21-34
<i>d</i>) A preaching tour in Galilee.	1: 35-45
2. The opposition of the scribes and Pharisees excited and rapidly developed.	2: 1-3: 6
<i>a</i>) A paralytic healed and his sins forgiven.	2: 1-12
<i>b</i>) Call of Levi, and the feast in his house.	2: 13-17
<i>c</i>) Jesus' answer to a question concerning fasting.	2: 18-22
<i>d</i>) Plucking grain on the sabbath.	2: 23-28
<i>e</i>) A withered hand healed on the sabbath.	3: 1-6
3. The beginnings of the separation between the followers of Christ and the rest of the community; the organization of the band of twelve personal attendants and helpers.	3: 7-35
<i>a</i>) The widespread fame of Jesus.	3: 7-12
<i>b</i>) The choosing of the Twelve.	3: 13-19
<i>c</i>) Concerning eternal sin.	3: 20-30
<i>d</i>) Natural and spiritual kinsmen.	3: 31-35
4. The parables of the kingdom's growth, in which is also illustrated its separating power.	4: 1-34

5. Sundry manifestations of his power, which meet with varied reception, some believing, some unbelieving, some slow to believe. 4: 35—6: 6
 - a) Stilling of the tempest. 4: 35-41
 - b) The Gerasene demoniac. 5: 1-20
 - c) Jairus's daughter raised to life. 5: 21-43
 - d) The rejection at Nazareth. 6: 1-6
6. The sending out of the Twelve to engage in work like that of Jesus himself. 6: 7-29
7. The continuance of Jesus' work in Galilee, with the reappearance of the same features; he heals and feeds the multitudes; his disciples are slow of understanding; the multitudes follow him; the Pharisees oppose him. 6: 30—7: 23
 - a) The feeding of the five thousand. 6: 30-46
 - b) Jesus walking on the sea. 6: 47-52
 - c) Many healed in Galilee. 6: 53-56
 - d) On eating with unwashed hands. 7: 1-23
8. A withdrawal from Galilee into gentile territory, and the ready faith which Jesus finds there. 7: 24-37
 - a) The Syrophenician woman's daughter. 7: 24-30
 - b) The deaf and dumb man healed. 7: 31-37
9. Further experiences in Galilee in which the same features as before appear. 8: 1-26
 - a) The feeding of the four thousand. 8: 1-10
 - b) Pharisees demanding a sign from heaven. 8: 11-21
 - c) A blind man healed near Bethsaida. 8: 22-26
10. A second withdrawal from Galilee: tour to Cæsarea Philippi and return to the sea. Jesus draws out from Peter the confession of him as the Christ, and begins to teach his disciples concerning his own sufferings, and the conditions of discipleship to him. 8: 27—9: 50
 - a) Peter's confession of Jesus' messiahship. 8: 27-30
 - b) Jesus' prediction of his own death and resurrection. 8: 31—9: 1
 - c) The transfiguration. 9: 2-13

- d)* The demoniac boy healed. 9: 14-29
- e)* Jesus again foretells his death and resurrection. 9: 30-32
- f)* The ambition and jealousy of the disciples reproved. 9: 33-50

III. THE JOURNEY FROM GALILEE TO JUDEA, and instructions on the way; on nearing Jerusalem Jesus is publicly saluted as son of David. chap. 10

- 1. Departure from Galilee into Perea. 10: 1
- 2. Concerning divorce. 10: 2-12
- 3. Blessing little children. 10: 13-16
- 4. The rich young ruler. 10: 17-31
- 5. Announcement of his crucifixion. 10: 32-34
- 6. Ambition of James and John reproved. 10: 35-45
- 7. The blind man near Jericho healed. 10: 46-52

IV. THE MINISTRY IN JERUSALEM: Jesus causes himself to be announced as Messiah; comes into conflict with the leaders of the people; predicts the downfall of the Jewish temple and capital. chaps. 11-13

- 1. The triumphal entry; Jesus is saluted as Messiah. 11: 1-11
- 2. The cursing of the fig tree. 11: 12-14
- 3. The cleansing of the temple. 11: 15-19
- 4. Comment on the withered fig tree. 11: 20-25
- 5. Conflict with the Jewish leaders. 11: 27—12: 40
 - a)* Christ's authority challenged. 11: 27-33
 - b)* The parable of the vineyard. 12: 1-12
 - c)* Three questions by the Jewish rulers. 12: 13-34
 - d)* Jesus' question concerning David's son. 12: 35-37
 - e)* Warning against the scribes. 12: 39, 40
- 6. The widow's two mites. 12: 41-44
- 7. The prophetic discourse concerning the downfall of the temple and city. chap. 13

V. THE PASSION HISTORY. chaps. 14, 15

- 1. The plot of the Jews. 14: 1, 2
- 2. The anointing in the house of Simon the leper. 14: 3-9
- 3. The bargain of Judas with the Jewish leaders. 14: 10, 11

4. The last passover of Jesus and his disciples.	14: 12-26
5. Prediction of Peter's denial.	14: 27-31
6. The agony in Gethsemane.	14: 32-42
7. The betrayal and arrest.	14: 43-52
8. The trial before the Jewish authorities.	14: 53-65
9. The denials of Peter.	14: 66-72
10. The trial before Pilate.	15: 1-20
11. The crucifixion and the death of Jesus.	15: 21-41
12. The burial.	15: 42-47
VI. THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS, attested by the empty tomb and the word of the young man.	16: 1-8
Appendix: Summary of the appearance of Jesus.	16: 9-20

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

[In addition to the general manuals listed at the end of chapter i, the following commentaries and special studies provide useful introductory material for the gospel of Mark:

- BACON, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1920).
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 BACON, *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* (1919).
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 JACOBUS, *The Gospel according to Mark* (1915).
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 WREDE, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelium* (1913).]

CHAPTER III

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE

I. THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN dealing with the gospel of Luke we have an advantage, which we do not possess in the case of either Matthew or Mark, that the author opens his book with a preface which is rich in information concerning the literary and historical situation out of which the book arose:

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.

Postponing to a later chapter the fuller discussion of the significance of the preface in its bearing upon the general problem of the origin of our gospels, we may notice here its clear indication that this gospel was by no means the earliest attempt to publish a narrative of the life of Jesus. When the author wrote, not only was that life the subject of instruction in the church (vs. 4), but many persons had already undertaken to compose a narrative of its events (vs. 1). The author of this gospel, while recognizing the value of these efforts, conceives also that they leave something still to be desired, and writes, after careful investigation, that the reader, already instructed in the facts of the life of Jesus, may have certain knowledge of these things wherein he had received instruction.

It is evident, not only that the statements of this preface have a direct bearing upon the question for whom and with what purpose the gospel was written, but that its distinct intimation that the author possessed, and perhaps used, older gospel writings must be taken into account in interpreting the indications of the gospel itself as to who the author was. We must be prepared to consider whether there are diverse indications of authorship, and to determine, as far as we may, whether any given feature of the narrative is traceable to the final author who wrote the preface, or to those earlier authors of whose writings he made use. Yet first of all we must examine the gospel as it stands for the evidence which it yields respecting its author, intended readers, and purpose.

II. THE AUTHOR

1. *His nationality as it appears in the gospel itself.*—There are numerous references in all parts of the gospel to Palestinian localities (1:5, 26, 39; 2:4, 39, 41; 3:1, 3; 4:16; 5:1, 17; 6:17; 7:11; 8:26; 10:13, 15; 17:11; 18:35; 19:1, 29, 37, 41; 23:5-7; 24:13). One or two of the localities referred to cannot be certainly identified,¹ but in every case in which the location of the place is known the reference of the gospel to it corresponds to its locality, and in some cases the correspondence of the narratives to the local conditions is somewhat striking.²

¹ On Bethphage, 19:29, and Emmaus, 24:13, see the Bible dictionaries. On "the country of the Gerasenes," 8:26, see chap. i, p. 2, n. 2.

² On 4:31, "down to Capernaum," observe that Nazareth is 1,144 feet above sea-level, while Capernaum is on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, which is 682 feet below sea-level. On the route of the triumphal entry as described by Luke in 19:37, 41 (these details are peculiar to him) see STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 186-90.

Observe also the reference to climate in 12:54 ff. To these may be added occasional references to the different elements of the population of the country and to their relations to one another (7:2; 17:16, 18).

A considerable number of the geographical references occur in passages which have closely parallel narratives in Matthew or Mark, suggesting the possibility that the author's geographical knowledge is second-hand. Yet in some of these cases Luke contains a definition of locality not found in the other gospels (4:31; 8:26), or an alternative name (5:1), and there are a number of correctly used geographical terms in passages of which there are no parallels in the other gospels (1:5, 26, 39; 2:4, 39, 41, etc.), including one which seems very clearly of an editorial character from the pen of the final author (3:1). Taken altogether, the evidence suggests at least such a general knowledge of the country as enabled the author intelligently to use and edit his sources.

The gospel frequently speaks, and always, so far as we are able to test it, correctly, of Jewish history, parties, institutions, usages,³ and current opinions. Thus the priests and the temple are spoken of in 1:5, 8-11, 21-23; 3:2; 5:14; 6:4; 10:31 (*cf.* 32); 17:14; 19:45-47; 20:1, 19; 21:1, 5; 22:4, 52, 54, 66; 23:13; the Pharisees, their usages, opinions, and characteristics, in 5:17, 21, 30, 33; 6:2, 7; 7:30, 36 ff.; 11:37-44; 12:1; 14:1, 3; 15:2; 16:14; 18:10, 11; 19:39; scribes or lawyers, in 5:17; 10:25; 11:45-54; 14:3; 19:47; 20:1, 19, 46; 22:2, 66; the Sadducees, in 20:27; the Sanhedrin, in 9:22; 20:19; 22:2, 66; 23:13; 24:20;

³ Concerning a possible exception to this statement in 2:22-24, see Appended Note III, p. 75.

the publicans, in 3:12; 5:27-30; 7:29; 18:10-13; 19:2, 8; the Jewish Scriptures, in 2:23; 3:4; 4:4, 8, 10, 12, 17-21; 7:27; 18:20, 31; 20:28, 37, 42; 24:27; characters and events of the Old Testament narrative, in 4:25-27; 6:3, 4, 23; 9:8, 19, 30, 33; 10:12-14; 11:29-32, 51; 13:28; 16:29-31; 17:26-29, 32; recent events, in 13:1-4; probably in 19:12; the custom of circumcision, in 1:59-63; 2:21; the ceremonies in connection with the birth of a child, in 2:22-27, 39; the feast of the passover, in 2:41-46; 22:1, 7, 11, 13, 15; synagogues and their officers, in 4:15, 16-30, 33, 38, 44; 7:5; 8:41, 49; 13:10, 14; 20:46; current opinions and expectations, in 3:15; 9:8, 30; 13:28; 16:22; 18:38, 39; 20:17-33.

The facts respecting the use of Old Testament Scripture in this gospel are somewhat peculiar. The first two chapters, the infancy section, are full of language manifestly derived from the Old Testament. This is especially true of the utterances of the angel, of Mary, of Zacharias, and of Simeon. But the narrative also contains Old Testament language, and even explicit quotations (2:23, 24). The genealogical table in chap. 3, though the fact that it is carried back, not as in Matthew to Abraham, the ancestor of the Jewish nation, but to Adam, the progenitor of the human race, shows a wider horizon than that of the Jewish nation, is yet, of course, derived from Jewish sources, partly biblical, partly post-biblical. In the rest of the gospels, on the other hand, the use of Scripture language is much less frequent. Like Mark, this gospel also records the use of Scripture language by Jesus and others the passages being in the majority of cases parallel to those in Mark or Matthew, but including also a number

not reported in the other gospels. But outside the first two chapters and the genealogical table there is but one explicit quotation (Luke 3:4 ff.) by the evangelist, and this is parallel to the one passage in which the second gospel quotes the Old Testament. There is also one passage (23:34) in which Old Testament language is used in a narrative passage without reference to its Old Testament origin; this passage likewise being parallel to one in Mark and Matthew.⁴ The quotations as a whole show the influence of the Septuagint, and no clear evidence that the author of the gospel knew Hebrew.⁵

References to the political situation in Palestine are explicit and important. Incidental references occur in 1:5; 3:19, 20; 7:2; 8:3; 13:1; 19:12 (?); 20:22-24; 23:1-24 *passim*, 52. In all these cases—some of them paralleled in the other gospels, others peculiar to Luke—the references are true to the situation as we know it from other sources. There are also two passages peculiar to Luke which are evidently careful editorial notes: 2:1-3; 3:1, 2. The latter of these is an entirely correct statement of the political situation in Judea in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; but there is some difficulty in combining into a consistent chronology the statement that John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius and the data yielded respectively by Luke 2:1-3 and 3:23.⁶ The expression “in the high-

⁴To this there should perhaps be added three passages in which Westcott and Hort recognize the use of Old Testament language (23:35, 36, 49), but the resemblance to the Old Testament is so slight and incidental, extending in two cases to a single word only, that they afford little evidence.

⁵ See PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*, p. xxxv.

⁶ See Appended Note I, p. 68.

priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas" (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως "Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα—observe the use of the singular), reflects not very distinctly, yet not incorrectly, the peculiar situation of the time in respect to the office of high priest.⁷ The other passage, 2:1-3, creates more difficulty, and has given rise to prolonged discussion. Of the many solutions that have been proposed none is altogether satisfactory, in the sense of furnishing conclusive evidence that Luke's statement is wholly accurate; yet its erroneousness is not proved, and it is at least possible that it is itself an important datum for the determination of the facts respecting enrolments in the Roman empire.⁸ In any case, it remains that these two passages show an interest of the evangelist in the relations of the life of Jesus to the affairs of the Roman empire at large, such as appears in none of the other gospels, and indicate a writer who had sought by investigation of the facts to connect the events he was narrating with the history of the land and the empire, rather than one who with easy familiarity with the facts mentioned them incidentally without effort or special intention.

References to social life, everyday occupations, and articles of common use are very frequent, so much so as to constitute a characteristic of this gospel as compared with the other gospels. Thus the house is spoken of in 5:19; 11:7; 12:39; 13:25; 17:31; 22:11; various household utensils are mentioned in 1:63; 5:18; 8:16; 11:7, 33; 15:8; 17:34; clothing, in 9:3; 10:4; 22:35 f.; the meals of the day, in 7:36; 11:37; 14:1, 7, 8; 20:

⁷ See chap. v, p. 110, n. 2; LIGHTFOOT, *Biblical Essays*, p. 165; PLUMMER, *ad loc.* [FOAKES-JACKSON AND LAKE, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, Vol. I, pp. 31 ff.]

⁸ See Appended Note II, p. 69.

46; articles of food, in 6:44; 9:13; 11:5, 11, 12; 13:21; 15:23; 17:35; 22:19; 24:30, 42; beverages, in 1:15; 5:37; 7:33; 23:36; oil and ointment, in 7:37, 38, 46; feasts and similar social customs, in 7:44-46; 14:7-10; 15:22-25; funeral customs, in 7:12, 14; 8:52; exigencies of travel, in 9:3-5; 10:4-6, 10, 11, 34, 35; 11:5-7. Men of various occupations are mentioned: shepherds, in 2:8; 15:4; 17:7; swineherds, in 8:34; 15:15; plowmen, in 17:7; fishermen, in 5:2-11; corngrinders, in 17:35; spinning, in 12:27; *cf.* also 14:17; 15:17; servants and their duties, in 12:35 ff., 42 ff.; 13:6-9.⁹ Most of these references have little or no evidential value in respect to the question of authorship, yet, taken together, they show a notable conformity to the conditions of life in Palestine.

The Greek of the gospel is of three somewhat distinct types. The preface is in excellent idiomatic Greek, with no suggestion of Hebraistic influence. The infancy section is very distinctly and strongly Hebraistic in character. The remainder of the gospel is less markedly Hebraic, resembling in general the gospels of Mark and Matthew, yet having some peculiarities of its own.¹⁰

⁹ See Article by SHAILER MATHEWS, in *Biblical World*, June, 1895, pp. 450 ff., of which free use has been made in this list.

¹⁰ Especially noteworthy are the use of the optative with *ἄν* (a classical idiom found in the New Testament only in Luke and Acts), the frequent employment of *ἐν* with the infinitive (a construction very common in the Septuagint, and found in all parts of Luke except the preface, and occurring six times as often as in Matthew and Mark together), the frequent occurrence of *ἐγένετο δέ* and *καὶ ἐγένετο* (about four times as often as in Matthew and Mark together), and prevailing with the Hebraistic construction following (indicative alone, or *καὶ* with an indicative; in Acts, on the other hand, usually with the infinitive

All these facts, considered together, point to the conclusion that the author certainly employed Jewish sources, and was familiar with Jewish affairs, but may not have been himself a Jew. The story of the infancy is of a strongly Jewish cast; the sources of the remainder of the book are quite similar in this respect to the gospel of Mark, and are presumably of Jewish origin, though not so pronouncedly Jewish in character as the infancy story or as the gospel of Matthew. The references to affairs of the Roman empire, and the extension of the genealogical table, are suggestive of a man who was not a Jew, or who was at least somewhat decidedly cosmopolitan in his feeling. He shows too much sympathy with the Jewish point of view to have been a gentile who repudiated the Old Testament religion, and too broad an outlook to have been a Jew who held a narrow Jewish view of the world and God's relation to it. He might be a Jew of cosmopolitan feeling, or a gentile proselyte to Judaism.

2. *His religious position.*—Of this there is no room for doubt. Like the writers of the other gospels, the third evangelist is a Christian in his belief. The subject of his book is Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and the things “which have been fulfilled among us,” and concerning which he desires his readers to “know the certainty,” are the deeds and teachings of Jesus. As respects the particular type of Christianity which he represented, it is evident that his sympathies would be with the Pauline rather than with the Judaistic party. Evidence of this

following). See J. H. MOULTON, *Expositor*, January, 1904, p. 74. Thus the peculiarities of Luke's style are in part Hebraistic, in part distinctly non-Hebraistic. See a detailed discussion of Luke's style in PLUMMER'S *Commentary*, pp. li ff. and 45. HAWKINS, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 140-61.

will appear in connection with the consideration of the purpose of the book.

3. *Evidence concerning the identity of the author from outside the gospel.*— This is of three kinds:

a) That which is derived from the book of Acts, combined with the evident relation of the gospel and the Acts. That these two books are from the same author is so evident that it has been affirmed by critics of every school, and very rarely questioned.¹¹ To determine the authorship of Acts would then be to determine that of the third gospel. The former problem, however, is scarcely less difficult than the latter. In certain portions of Acts, known as the "we-sections" (16: 10-40; 20: 6—21: 18; 27: 1 — 28: 16 or 31), the narrative is told in the first person, implying that it is from the pen of an eyewitness of the events. That this implication is in accordance with the facts, and that the author of these sections was in fact a companion of the apostle Paul on some of his missionary journeys, is one of the assured results of historical criticism. It is natural to suppose that the author of these we-sections is at the same time the author of the whole book, the absence of the first-person pronoun in the other portions of it reflecting the fact that he is here, in part at least, relating what he had learned from others. There is, moreover, considerable evidence for this opinion in the prevalence throughout the book of certain peculiarities of style, as well as in the very fact of the retention of the "we" in these sections themselves. Yet there is by no

¹¹ See, for example, PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*, p. xi; HEADLAM, art. "Acts" in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 29; SCHMIEDEL, art. "Acts" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. I, p. 48; STANTON, in *Expositor*, May, 1893, pp. 336-52; FRIEDRICH, *Das Lukasevangelium und die Apostelgeschichte Werke desselben Verfassers*, Halle, 1890.

means the same agreement on this point as on the autoptic character of the we-sections, and a certain conclusion concerning the authorship of the gospel can be drawn from the relation of it to Acts only when the Acts problem itself is definitely settled.¹²

b) The ancient manuscripts of the gospel uniformly bear the title *Κατα Λουκαν*, "According to Luke," or *Ευαγγελιον κατα Λουκαν*, "Gospel according to Luke," or its equivalent.¹³

c) From the earliest times at which ancient writers mention any author of our gospel they ascribe it to Luke. The following are some of these testimonies:

For in the memoirs which I say were composed by his apostles and those who followed them, it is written that his sweat fell down like drops of blood, while he was praying and saying, "Let this cup, if it be possible, pass from me."¹⁴ (JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. 103.)

¹² PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*, p. xii, says, "It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that nothing in biblical criticism is more certain than this statement," viz., that the author of Acts (not simply of the "we-sections") was a companion of Paul. With this statement agree also LIGHTFOOT, art. "Acts" in SMITH, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 2d Eng. ed.; HEADLAM, art. "Acts" in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*; RAMSAY, BLASS, and many others. On the other hand, MCGIFFERT, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 237, f., 433 f.; SCHMIEDEL, art. "Acts" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. I; WENDT, *Kommentar über die Apostelgeschichte*, 8th ed., and JÜLICHER, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 268, distinguish between the author of the "we-sections" and the author of the book. [The entire case, pro and con, is canvassed fully but concisely in FOAKES-JACKSON AND LAKE, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, Vol. II, pp. 207 ff.]

¹³ See chap. i, p. 8, n. 7.

¹⁴ Cf. Luke 22:44. The mention of the blood-like sweat being found in Luke only of our gospels, the statement of Justin is naturally understood as ascribing the gospel to an apostle or one of the companions of the apostles.

Irenæus, naming the four gospels in the order in which they stand in modern versions, says:

Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him. (*Adv. Haer.*, iii, 1.)

Thirdly, the gospel-book according to Luke. Luke the physician, after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken him as it were as a follower zealous of the right, wrote it in his own name, as is believed. The Lord, nevertheless, he had not himself seen in the flesh, and accordingly, going back as far as he could obtain information, he began his narrative with the birth of John. (*The Muratorian Fragment.*)

These testimonies, dating from the middle and end of the second century — the Muratorian fragment is perhaps from the beginning of the third century — show what was believed in the church at the earliest period from which we have definite testimony. There is nothing in the gospel itself to contradict this belief, except as concerns the statement of Irenæus with reference to the relation of Paul to this gospel. That Paul exerted some influence upon the mind of the evangelist, and even upon the gospel itself, need not be questioned,¹⁵ but that Luke drew his material to any considerable extent from Paul is excluded alike by Luke's own preface, in which he names as the source of his information "those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses," and also by the internal evidence of the relation of the gospels to one another.

The Luke to whom tradition ascribed the gospel is without question the one named in the New Testament as a companion of Paul, and referred to in Philem., vs. 24;

¹⁵ Could the common text of Luke 22: 19-21 be accepted as genuine, this would be an almost indubitable instance of dependence either of Luke upon Paul (1 Cor. 11: 23-25) or of Paul upon Luke. But on this passage see WESTCOTT AND HORT, *New Testament in Greek*, Vol. II, App., pp. 63 f.

Col. 4:14; 2 Tim. 4:11. The second of these passages describes him as a physician, and the gospel itself yields some indication of having been written by one who was familiar with medical matters.¹⁶ The same passage compared with vs. 11 implies that he was of gentile birth, and with this agree the internal indications of the gospel itself. (See p. 53.) If he was the author of the "we-passages" of the Acts, the journeys in which he accompanied Paul gave him ample opportunity to meet and consult with those who were companions and ministers of Jesus. If there is any reason to doubt that he was in fact the author of our gospel, such reason is to be found, not in the gospel, but in the book of Acts. For our present purpose it is of more importance to observe that, whatever the name or personality of the evangelist, he was, according to the evidence of the gospel itself, substantially such a man as Luke; not a personal follower of Jesus, but one who had access to the testimony of the eyewitnesses of Jesus' life; a man of Jewish sympathies, but of cosmopolitan interests; a Christian whose affiliations were with the more liberal party in the early church.

III. THE READERS FOR WHOM THE BOOK WAS INTENDED

Reference has already been made to the evidence in the preface to the gospel that it was written for Christian readers. Theophilus, to whom the book is addressed or dedicated, was probably a real person, but certainly also

¹⁶ See HOBART, *Medical Language of Luke*; PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*, pp. lxiii ff, [Hobart's argument was skilfully revived with new detail by HARNACK in his *Luke the Physician* (1907). H. J. CADBURY in his investigation of *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (1920) submitted this traditional position to fresh criticism and refuted the medical argument.]

the representative of the class for whom especially the book was written. It is not probable either that the book was intended solely for his private reading, or that the other persons whom the author had in mind belonged to a distinctly different class from Theophilus. The only question, then, is whether the Christians for whom Luke wrote were predominantly Jews or gentiles. The name Theophilus, though suggesting gentile readers, would not be decisive, since so many Hebrews bore Greek names. But the content of the gospel leaves no room for doubt that the author has gentile readers specially in mind. There is a notable absence of Hebrew words, such as occur in Mark accompanied by an explanation, and in Matthew without explanation. There are a few geographical notes which suggest that the readers were not Palestinians (2:4; 8:26; 19:29). In a number of instances this gospel employs terms which would be intelligible to gentiles in place of Jewish terms used in parallel or similar passages in the other synoptic gospels.¹⁷ The sermon of Jesus in 6:20-49 conspicuously lacks that reference to the needs and point of view of the Jews which is so distinctly marked in the parallel discourse in Matt., chaps. 5, 6, 7. There are, as already noted (p. 50), but two references by the evangelist (as distinguished from Jesus and others whose words he records) to the fulfil-

¹⁷ See, e. g., 5:19, "through the tiles," in place of expressions in Matthew and Mark which suggest a thatch roof; ἐπιστάτης 8:24 (Mark διδάσκαλος, Matthew κύριος); 5:5; 9:33, 49; 17:13; ῥαββί never occurs in Luke; ἀληθῶς (9:27; 12:44; 21:3) instead of ἀμήν which Luke uses, but much less frequently than Matthew; νομικός (7:30; 10:25; 11:45, 46, 52; 14:3) instead of γραμματεὺς, which Matthew and Mark usually employ. (See also MATHEWS, in *Biblical World*, May, 1895, pp. 340 f.; PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*, p. xxxiv.)

ment of Old Testament Scripture, and both of these give evidence of being derived from the sources of the gospel. This author alone of the evangelists makes mention of the Roman emperor in whose reign the events recorded took place (3:1), and more explicitly than the others defines the political status of Palestine at the time. The familiarity with Jewish affairs which he assumes on the part of his readers, especially in chaps. 1, 2, at first sight suggests Jewish readers, but is in reality sufficiently explained by the fact that he wrote for Christians who had already heard the story of Jesus' life by word of mouth (1:4). It must, moreover, be remembered, as the epistles of Paul already clearly show, that even gentile Christians early acquired a knowledge of the Old Testament.

IV. THE PURPOSE AND POINT OF VIEW OF THE GOSPEL

In this matter, as in respect to the readers, we have the great advantage of possessing a statement from the author himself. He wrote, he says, after careful investigation, in order that his reader might know the certainty concerning the things wherein he had been instructed, *i. e.*, that he might have accurate knowledge concerning the events of Jesus' life. We are prepared, therefore, not to find any such definite argumentative aim as characterizes the gospel of Matthew, but, on the other hand, to discover a somewhat more definite and conscious historical purpose than appears in Mark. Nor are these expectations disappointed in the book. Though written chiefly for gentiles, there is as little evidence of intention to enter into the controversies of the apostolic age with reference to the relations of Jews and gentiles in the kingdom as appears in Mark. Both John and Jesus are intimately associated

with the temple in their birth, and the first event in which Jesus is recorded as taking active part occurs also in the temple. That Jesus was opposed by the Pharisees appears as clearly as in the other synoptic gospels, and there are not a few passages in which Jesus sharply reproves them. But most of the passages which in the gospel of Matthew emphasize the special opportunity of the Jews, and distinctly set forth the rejection of the kingdom by the Jews, and of the nation by Jesus, are absent from Luke. Intimations of the universal scope of the gospel occur, some of them peculiar to this gospel (2:31 f.; 3:6; 4:24-27; 9:52), but, on the other hand, some which are found in the other gospels (*e. g.*, Matt. 15:22-28; Mark 7:25-30; Matt. 8:11) are lacking in Luke. The book is considerably longer than Mark, and shows more indications of conscious literary construction than appear in Mark. But of the influence of an argumentative aim on the structure it is impossible to discover any trace. The author seems to have aimed at an orderly account of the life of Jesus, as complete as his sources enabled him to make it without duplication of material or the use of matter which he regarded as untrustworthy.

Yet the book is not, after all, devoid of a color and character of its own. While the material is in large part the same that is found in Matthew and Mark, and while it presents Jesus from much the same point of view as the other synoptists, especially as compared with the fourth gospel, yet the portrait is not identical with theirs. Luke's picture of Jesus is in a sense less provincial, more cosmopolitan, than that of Matthew or that of Mark. While Mark's attention is absorbed with the majestic figure of Jesus in his public career, teaching, working, suffering,

dying, rising again; while Matthew sees in him the promised Messiah, fulfilling Old Testament prophecy and his own prediction that, if his own nation rejected him, the kingdom of God should be taken from them and given to the nations, this gospel presents him to us in his intimate, and yet his universal, relationship to men, the mediator between the one God and all men. Divine in origin, yet born into a human family, and subject to the ordinances of the law under which he was born and to parental authority, he is by his genealogy (traced back, not, as in Matthew, to David and Abraham, but to Adam, son of God) set forth as a member of the universal human family, itself the offspring of God. A man who by constant prayer took hold on God, while he devoted his life to helping and saving the lost, he is at the same time the friend of the publican and the sinner, and the expression of God's love for a lost world (see especially chap. 15).

But this conception of the mission of Jesus is naturally accompanied by an emphasis upon the intimacy and universality of men's relations to one another. The parables that teach the duties of men to one another, intimate not indistinctly that these obligations are not limited by social or national lines (6:27 ff.; 10:30-37; 16:19-31). It is not so much, however, the barrier between Jew and gentile against which the teaching of Jesus reported in this gospel is directed, as that which pride had set up between Pharisee and publican, rich and poor, man and woman, Jew and Samaritan. And of these various barriers separating men into classes it is the one between rich and poor which more frequently perhaps than any other is inveighed against in this gospel. The facts of Jesus' life which associate him with the poor, and his teachings which

express sympathy with the poor or point out the danger of riches, are represented, not in this gospel alone, but in this more than in any of the others.¹⁸

Thus, if we are to point out anything which is distinctive of the point of view of this gospel as compared with the other synoptic gospels, it will be the emphasis upon the two conceptions of universality and relationship, applied both as between Christ, as representative of God's attitude, and men, and between man and man. Jesus, as this gospel presents him to us, reveals to us the compassion of God for all, and teaches that men ought in humility and love to seek out and help all the needy and the lost, ignoring all the artificial barriers which pride and selfishness have set up.

Yet it is not less necessary to remember that our gospels, especially the synoptic gospels, resemble one another in purpose, as in scope and content, by more than they differ the one from the other. Like Matthew and Mark, Luke wrote for the edification of the church, and used the materials which he possessed. With less definite argumentative purpose, and probably with less selection and exclusion of material at his hand than Matthew, the distinctive character of his book may be due quite as much to the character of his sources, or to unconscious selection, as to definite intention. The only conscious purpose which we can with confidence attribute to the evangelist is that which he has himself expressed in his preface, viz., on the basis of trustworthy sources and careful investiga-

¹⁸ See, e. g., 2: 7, 16, 24; 6: 20, 21, 24, 25; 8: 3; 9: 58; 12: 13-34; 14: 12-14; 16: 14, 15, 19-31; 18: 22-30; 19: 8; cf. MATHEWS, *Social Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 141 f.; PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*, p. xxv, especially as against an overemphasis on this element of the third gospel.

tion to give an orderly and historically true narrative of the events connected with the life of Jesus.

V. THE PLAN OF THE GOSPEL

The book is simple in structure, following the main outlines which appear also in Mark, but prefixing the sections on the infancy and youth, and greatly enlarging the narrative of the journey to Jerusalem. The following analysis is an attempt to exhibit the author's plan; but little significance, however, can be attached to the divisions of the Galilean ministry:

ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

I. PREFACE.	1: 1-4
II. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, AND YOUTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST AND OF JESUS.	1: 5—2: 52
1. The birth of John the Baptist promised.	1: 5-25
2. Annunciation of the birth of Jesus.	1: 26-38
3. Mary's visit to Elizabeth.	1: 39-56
4. Birth and youth of John.	1: 57-80
5. The birth of Jesus.	2: 1-7
6. The angels and the shepherds.	2: 8-20
7. The circumcision of Jesus.	2: 21
8. The presentation in the temple.	2: 22-39
9. Childhood and youth of Jesus in Nazareth.	2: 40-52
III. PREPARATION FOR CHRIST'S PUBLIC WORK.	3: 1—4: 13
1. The early ministry of John the Baptist.	3: 1-20
2. The baptism of Jesus.	3: 21, 22
3. Genealogy of Jesus.	3: 23-38
4. The temptation of Jesus in the wilderness.	4: 1-13
IV. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY.	4: 14—9: 50
1. Early events at Nazareth and Capernaum.	4: 14-44
a) Beginning of the ministry in Galilee.	4: 14, 15
b) The rejection at Nazareth.	4: 16-30
c) A sabbath at Capernaum.	4: 31-41
d) Leaves Capernaum and preaches in Galilee.	4: 42-44

2. From the call of the Four to the choosing of the Twelve. 5: 1—6: 11
 - a) Call of the Four. 5: 1-11
 - b) A leper healed. 5: 12-16
 - c) A paralytic healed. 5: 17-26
 - d) The call of Levi and the feast in his house. 5: 27-32
 - e) Question about fasting. 5: 33-39
 - f) Plucking grain on the sabbath. 6: 1-5
 - g) A withered hand healed on the sabbath. 6: 6-11
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APPENDED NOTE I

THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF TIBERIUS

In Luke 3:1 we are told that John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. In 3:23 the evangelist speaks of Jesus as being about thirty years old. The latter statement probably refers to the time when Jesus began his public ministry, and this event, it is evidently implied, occurred not many months after the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry already dated as in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. Reckoning the reign of Tiberius, in the usual way, from the death of Augustus in August of 767 A. U. C. = 14 A. D., his fifteenth year would begin in September, 27, January, 28, April, 28, or August, 28, according to the method of reckoning which Luke employed (see RAMSAY, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 221), and the beginning of the ministry of John would fall in the year 28, possibly at the end of 27. If some months later, say in the middle of the year 28, Jesus began to teach, being then about thirty years of age, his birth would fall about 3 B. C. From Matt., chap. 2, on the other hand, we learn that the birth of Jesus preceded the death of Herod (*cf.* also Luke 1:5), and since Herod died in March, 4 B. C., the birth of Jesus would on this basis fall in 5 B. C., or, at the latest, in the beginning of 4 B. C. The gap between this result and that reached on the basis of Luke 3:1 and 3:23 may be bridged over if "about thirty years" in 3:23 may in fact cover thirty-one or thirty-two years, and so 4 or 5 B. C. be substituted for 3 B. C. But Luke himself furnishes a most serious difficulty by his statement in 2:3, which seems to assign the birth of Jesus to a year not later than 7 B. C. See the next note. The gap of four years or more thus created between the *prima facie* result from 3:1 and 3:23, and that derived from 2:3, is rather long to be covered by "about" of 3:23.

In view of this difficulty, appeal has been made to the possibility of a different reckoning of the years of Tiberius. About the end of 764 A. U. C. = 11 A. D. Tiberius began, by decree of the senate, to exercise in the provinces authority equal to that of the emperor. (VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, II, 121, "Et [cum] senatus populusque

Romanus, postulante patre, ut aequum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset decreto complexus esset . . . ") It has been suggested that Luke, writing in the provinces where Tiberius exercised this authority, might have reckoned his years from the beginning of its exercise in 11 or 12 A. D. No conclusive proof of such a reckoning has been brought forward; for the coin of Antioch on which Wieseler relied is not now regarded as genuine, and other coins of Antioch reckon the years of Tiberius from the death of Augustus. But it is known that there was considerable variety in the methods of reckoning the years of the emperors, and it seems at least possible that Luke reckoned the years of Tiberius from 11 or 12 instead of 14 A. D. This is all the more possible in view of the fact, to which Ramsay calls attention, that the years of Titus, in or soon after whose reign Luke probably wrote, were in fact reckoned from his coregency with Vespasian. According to his reckoning, the fifteenth year of Tiberius would begin in 25 A. D. If, then, in 25 or 26 John began to preach, and if Jesus began his work a few months later, being then about thirty years old, he was born about 6-4 B. C., a result in entire harmony with the data given by Matthew. For its relation to Luke 2: 3 compare the next note.

WIESELER, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 171-73; WIESELER, *Beiträge zur Würdigung der Evangelien*, pp. 190 ff.; WOOLSEY, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1870, pp. 332-36; ANDREWS, *Life of Our Lord*, pp. 22-29; TURNER, in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 405; PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*, p. 82; RAMSAY, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* pp. 199 ff.; VON SODEN, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 804.

APPENDED NOTE II

THE ENROLMENT IN THE GOVERNORSHIP OF QUIRINIUS

The questions concerning the statement in Luke 2: 1-5 are five:

1. Did Augustus order a census of the empire? The probabilities respecting the correctness of the statement of Luke to this effect have been set in an entirely new light by the evidence of papyri recently discovered in Egypt. From these it is entirely clear that from 8 B. C. to 202 A. D. the Roman census, usually at least disconnected from the listing of property for taxation, was taken in Egypt at intervals of

fourteen years. The fourteen-year cycle can be traced back to the census of 9-8 B C., and the evidence renders it probable that, though there were census enrolments in a much earlier time, the fourteen-year cycle originated with Augustus. Luke's statement that the census covered the whole world, that is, the Roman empire, is not directly established by the papyri, but neither is it disproved by them. Augustus is known to have instituted a valuation of property throughout the provinces, but of a general census we have no direct evidence other than the statement of Luke. Whether this census was in Palestine accompanied by a listing of property for taxation, or was, like those in Egypt, separated from such listing, is also a matter not made clear by the evidence. See KENYON, *Classical Review*, 1895, p. 110; RAMSAY, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* chaps. vii, viii; but especially GRENFELL AND HUNT, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I (London, 1899), pp. 207-14.

2. Would the kingdom of Herod have been included in such an order, supposing it to have been issued? There are several reasons to believe that this would have been the case. The kingdom of Herod was by no means an independent state, but differed from a Roman province more in name and appearance than in fact. Herod belonged to the large class of *reges socii*. He received his authority by the consent of the Romans (Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv, 13, 1; xiv, 14, 4). His transmission of it to his sons and their retention of it were subject to the approval of the emperor (Jos., *Antiq.*, xvii, 8, 1; xvii, 11, 4; xvii, 13, 2; xviii, 7, 2). He paid tribute to Rome (APPIAN, *De bell. civil.*, v, 75) and his sons, if they did not themselves pay tribute, were at least obliged to defer to Rome in the matter of the taxes which they collected (Jos., *Antiq.*, xvii, 11, 4; cf. also xix, 8, 2; xv, 4, 4; APPIAN, *De reb. Syr.*, 50). A Roman legion guarded Jerusalem in the beginning of Herod's reign (Jos., *Antiq.*, xv, 3, 7). Herod was not allowed to make war without the consent of the emperor or of his representatives (Jos., *Antiq.*, xvi, 9, 3; xvi, 10, 8). He could not execute his own sentence of death against his sons without the consent of the emperor (Jos., *Antiq.*, xvi, 11, 1; xvii, 5, 8). His subjects were required to take the oath of allegiance to Rome, and for refusing to do so six thousand Pharisees were fined (Jos., *Antiq.*, xvii, 2, 4; cf. xviii, 5, 3). The statement of Marquardt (*Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Vol. I, p. 408) that "Herod is to be

looked upon as a procurator with the title of king" seems to be strictly correct.

It has been further pointed out and urged by Ramsay, as an additional reason for supposing that Herod's kingdom would be included in a general plan of enrolment of the empire, that in the latter part of his life Herod fell into disfavor with Augustus (Jos., *Antiq.*, xvi, 9, 3). But Josephus also relates that Herod was after no long time restored to favor with Augustus (*Antiq.*, xvi, 10, 9, and 11, 1). Unless, therefore, this restoration was but partial, or the order of enrolment was given while Herod was in disfavor, it would seem to have no special relation to the census. The more general facts, however, go far toward removing any improbability in the assertion of Luke that the enrolment included Judea. It is not necessary to suppose that the census was carried out simultaneously in all parts of the empire, or that in practice it covered absolutely every part of it.

3. Would such a census have been conducted as Luke implies that the one of which he speaks was conducted, each family going to its ancestral city? What interest had the Roman authorities in Jewish tribal lines and family connections? If the census was conducted by imperial officers, it probably would not have been made after this fashion. The census of 6 or 7 A. D. (Acts 5:37) was conducted by Roman officers in Roman fashion, and caused great disturbance (Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii, 1, 1). But if the enumeration was made by Herod at the request or command of Augustus, it might be, probably would be, conformed as nearly as possible to Jewish ideas (*cf.* RAMSAY, pp. 185 f., and SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 3d ed., Vol. I, pp. 396 ff.). Luke does not say that the enumeration was made by the governor of Syria; he merely dates it by the term of office of Quirinius.

But it is also possible, as suggested by GRENFELL AND HUNT (*op. cit.*, p. 211), that "his own city" in Luke 2:3 means, not his ancestral city, but the city of his permanent residence. In this case the implication of the statement would be that Bethlehem was the real home of the family, and that, whatever the occasion or length of the stay in Nazareth, it was the intention of Joseph and Mary to make Bethlehem their future home. This would, of course, correspond with the implication of Matthew's narrative (Matt. 2:22, 23), and the statement of fact in Luke 2:3 may well be correct, even if the

reason assigned for the journey in Luke 2:4 reflects a misapprehension on his part, or refers to the ground of Joseph's preference for taking up or resuming residence in Bethlehem rather than to a requirement imposed by the rules of the census.

4. Can the census referred to by Luke and supported by the evidence of Egyptian papyri have fallen in the year of Jesus' birth as established by other evidence? The only census year that can be considered is that which, in accordance with the fourteen-year cycle, fell in 9-8 B. C. The next succeeding census, 6-7 A. D. (referred to in Acts 5:37 and Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii, 1, 1), is out of the question, being wholly irreconcilable with the other data (see the preceding note). But is the census of 9-8 B. C. a possibility? The other data, as shown in the preceding note, place the date of the birth of Jesus somewhere between 6 and 3 B. C. Can the gap between this result and 9-8 B. C. be bridged? Ramsay has endeavored to show that a census ordered for 9-8 B. C. might, not improbably, be actually taken in the year 6 B. C. (*Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* pp. 130 ff., 174 ff.). The evidence to which he appeals does, indeed, show that the returns made by the householders to the officer conducting the enumeration were sometimes received by the officers in a year following that to which they referred, this latter being the census year proper. He has also cited an example of delay in a similar matter in the province of Galatia during the years 6-3 B. C., in which an interval of about two years elapsed between the decree that the inhabitants of Paphlagonia should take the oath of allegiance to Augustus (in consequence of the incorporation of their country in the province of Galatia following the death of the king of Paphlagonia) and the actual administration of the oath (*Expositor*, 1901, Vol. IV, pp. 321-23). Grenfell and Hunt, however, call attention to the fact that the instances of a year's interval between the date to which the returns referred and the presentation of them to the officers pertain to a later period, and that the indications do not favor the supposition that such an interval was usual as early as the end of the first century B. C. And they question whether, with all reasonable allowance for delay in the taking of the census, from whatever cause, it can be supposed to have taken place later than 7 B. C. Between this result and Matthew's statement that Jesus was born before Herod died there is, of course, no conflict. With Luke's own statements in 3:1 and 3:23 this result can

be harmonized only by supposing that when Jesus was, as Luke says, "about thirty years old," he was in fact thirty-two, or, if the years of Tiberius were reckoned from the death of Augustus, thirty-four. Of these suppositions the former, at least, is not improbable.

5. But if the census referred to by Luke is that of 9-8 B. C., and if this census was actually taken in 7 B. C., can Quirinius have been governor of Syria at that time? The only governorship of Quirinius over Syria of which we have direct evidence, outside this statement of Luke, is that which began in 6 A. D. (Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii, 2, 1). But that he was governor of Syria also at some previous time, and as such conquered the Homonadenses, is established by indirect evidence which is accepted as convincing by the best historians (MOMMSEN, *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, pp. 172 ff.; ZUMPT, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 43-62; SCHÜRER, *Jewish People*, Div. I, Vol. I, pp. 351-56; 3d German ed., Vol. I, pp. 322-24; RAMSAY, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* chap. xi, and other authorities there given).

Respecting the date of this earlier governorship there is difference of opinion. Mommsen, Zumpt, Schürer, and others place it in 3-2 B. C. In this case it would have begun after Herod's death (March, 4 B. C.). Zahn, on the basis of a criticism and amendment of the statements of Josephus, holds that Quirinius was governor of Syria but once, viz., in 4-3 B. C. (see ZAHN, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1893, pp. 633-54, and criticism of Zahn's view in SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 3d ed., Vol. I, pp. 541 ff.). In this case the governorship of Quirinius would coincide in part with the reign of Herod. But, aside from the fact of the doubtful character of Zahn's argument, which has not gained the assent of other scholars, it is to be observed that Luke does not say that the events which he records took place while Quirinius was governor of Syria, but that they occurred in the course of an enrolment, which enrolment was enrolment first, or the first held when Quirinius was governor. He seems distinctly to have in mind the well-known enrolment under Quirinius (Acts 5:37) and to date this as a previous one—or the first of a series; cf. the evidence in 1 above that the census of 9-8 B. C. was the first of the series established on a fourteen-year cycle—also occurring while Quirinius was governor. The conditions of his statement are met if the enrolment was begun by Herod during the governorship of a predecessor of Quirinius and completed in the

term of office of Quirinius. Ramsay has endeavored to establish the probability that the campaign in which, as governor (*legatus*) of Syria, Quirinius subdued the Homonadenses fell in the year 6 B. C., including also the preceding or the following year. We know, indeed, that Quinctilius Varus was governor of Syria in 6-4 B. C. But Ramsay points to other instances in which, in addition to the regular proconsul or proprætor, a special lieutenant was appointed to have charge of the military operations and foreign policy of a province. The necessity of subduing the Homonadenses and the inexperience of Varus in military affairs would give occasion to such an arrangement at this time. Both officers would bear in Greek the title ἡγεμῶν which Luke applies to Quirinius.

Can it then be said that the data coincide in the assignment of the governorship of Quirinius and the enrolment recorded by Luke to the years 7-6 B. C.? The facts from which Ramsay argues seem to show that Quirinius may possibly have been *legatus* in the years named, being charged with a special military task while another was governor in general charge of the province. Luke's statement is not then clearly disproved by the other evidence, and may even furnish an important additional datum. But it must be admitted that Ramsay's argument involves conjectures and improbable assumptions, and does not go beyond showing that his thesis is a somewhat improbable possibility. Such a solution cannot be regarded as finally satisfactory. The suspicion remains that there is some error or incompleteness in the data.

But may the error lie in the substitution of one proper name for another? The statement of TERTULLIAN (*adv. Marc.*, iv, 19) which connects the birth of Jesus with a census held by Sentius Saturninus, governor of Syria 9-7 B. C., has usually been set aside because of its conflict with the statement of Luke. But the very fact that it is not derived from the New Testament suggests that it perhaps rested on independent evidence; and when we find the other data given by Luke pressing the census back into the very years of the governorship of Saturninus, it is obvious to inquire whether Luke has not confused the names of Saturninus and Quirinius. Let it be noted that there were two enrolments, one falling in 6-7 A. D. and one about 9-8 B. C., both apparently known to Luke; that there were two governorships of Quirinius; that the second of these enrolments fell

in the second governorship of Quirinius; and, finally, that the names Quirinius and Saturninus are at least slightly alike. Is it not possible that, associating the two governorships of Quirinius and the two enrolments, one of them under Quirinius, he may have fallen into the error of two enrolments, each in a governorship of Quirinius? If so, the mistake is in the name of Quirinius, not in the fact or date of the enrolment. (*Cf. GRENFELL AND HUNT, op. cit.*)

It must be evident that confident decision of the question here raised would be rash. Important new data have come to light within the last four or five years. Still other facts may yet be discovered and may set the whole matter in still clearer light. At present it is necessary to rest in the conclusion that, while the chronological statements of Luke are in the main confirmed by archæological evidence, it must remain somewhat uncertain from what event he reckoned the years of Tiberius, how wide a margin is covered by the word "about" in 3:23, and whether he or Tertullian is right in the name of the governor in whose term of office the first enrolment under Augustus took place in Palestine. The date of the birth of Jesus must apparently be provisionally assigned to 7 B. C.

See, in addition to the writers and passages cited above, ZUMPT, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 20-224; WIESELER, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 71-117, 143-50; ANDREWS, *Life of Our Lord*, pp. 71-82; WOOLSEY, in *New Englander*, October, 1869, and *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1870; SCHÜRER, *History of Jewish People*, Div. I, Vol. II, pp. 105-43, 3d German ed., Vol. I, pp. 508-43; PLUMMER, *Commentary on Luke*; SANDAY in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, pp. 645 f. RAMSAY, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, pp. 238 ff., 255 ff., 275 ff.

APPENDED NOTE III

REFERENCES TO THE OLD TESTAMENT LAW IN LUKE 2:22-24

The problem suggested by this passage can be best presented by an analysis of it into four parts, as follows:

22 And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled,	} The purification of the mother (and child) forty days after the birth (Lev. 12:2-6).
they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord	
	} Not required in the Old Testament.

23 (as it is written in the law of the Lord, every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord),	}	Devotion of the first-born to Jehovah, calling for redemption by money payment, thirty days after birth (Exod. 13: 2).
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24 and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.	}	The sacrifice for the purification of the mother, forty days after the birth of the child (Lev. 12: 8).
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It will be seen that vss. 22*a* and 24 refer to the ceremony of purification. Now, according to the law, this pertained to the mother. Vss. 22*b*, 23, on the other hand, interrupting the reference to purification, refer to a presentation of the child to the Lord in Jerusalem. Each portion of the passage has its difficulties, and the relation of the two gives rise to further questions.

1. The word "their," *αὐτῶν*, in vs. 22 is in apparent conflict with the law, which speaks only of the purification of the mother.

2. The bringing of the child to Jerusalem mentioned in 22*b* was not required by the law or any known usage; neither the redemption of the child nor the sacrifice for the purification of the mother required the presence of either mother or child in the temple.

3. There is no mention in the Old Testament of a ceremony of presentation of the child to the Lord. What the law requires is the devotion of the child to the Lord, and the redemption of him by the payment of five shekels. The quotation in vs. 23 of a portion of the law respecting redemption, joined by "as it is written" to vs. 22, seems to imply that vs. 22*b* referred, in the writer's mind, to redemption. Apparently, therefore, the writer has either converted redemption into presentation, or has introduced a ceremony of presentation, and has referred to it a passage which in the Old Testament refers to the devotion of the child to the Lord that in its turn necessitated the redemption of it.

4. The ceremony of purification took place forty days after the birth of the child. Redemption took place "from a month old" (Numb. 18: 16).

For the plural "their" of vs. 22 there is no direct basis in the Old Testament law. Yet it may (*a*) reflect the thought of the first century respecting the meaning of the ceremony. If it refers to

the mother and child, the basis for the inclusion of the child with the mother may have been furnished in the implication of circumcision that the child was unclean at birth, or in the necessary contact of a nursing child with its mother; and because of one or both of these the thought may have arisen that the child shared in the uncleanness of the mother until her purification, and that the ceremony of purification pertained to them both. Purely grammatical considerations would suggest that the word "their" refers to the father and mother, since it is to them that the plural subject of the verb of the sentence refers. Nor it is entirely improbable that, from considerations similar to those which pertain to the child, the notion should have arisen that the father shared with the mother in the uncleanness, and in the ceremony of purification. It is even in favor of this that the language of vs. 24, though agreeing in substance with Lev. 12:8, which refers to the sacrifice to be offered by a woman after child-birth, agrees verbally and exactly, not with the Greek version of this passage, but with that of Lev. 5:11, which relates to the offering to be made by a man who by contact (among possible causes) may have become unclean. Yet, on the whole, the reference of the pronoun is more probably to the mother and child. The suggestion of Edersheim that it refers to the Jews in general seems wholly improbable. (b) A different explanation is suggested by the general Hebraistic character of the first two chapters of Luke, which, quite aside from these verses in particular, renders it probable that Luke is here translating from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. In that case, especially if the original was in Hebrew, the word "their" may have arisen from a misreading of the possessive suffix in the original. This explanation would involve the conclusion that the evangelist was unfamiliar with the details of the Jewish law, hence was doubtless a gentile—an inference not in itself improbable.

Of the visit to Jerusalem and the presentation of the child to the Lord in the temple there are likewise two possible explanations. (a) Though it was not required by law that either the mother or the child should go to Jerusalem in connection either with the redemption of the child or with the purification of the mother, and though it is very unlikely that it was customary for mothers all over Palestine to make such a journey, yet it is by no means improbable that, when proximity to Jerusalem made it easy, the mother would go in person

with her child at the time of one or both of these ceremonies. And it is perhaps especially likely that the parents of Jesus would be impelled thus to go to Jerusalem by their exceptional feeling about the child Jesus. It is to be observed that the narrative does not say that the journey was required by law or custom, but only states the fact that it was made. There is, therefore, in any case no contradiction between Luke's statement and the law. The case is much the same respecting presentation of the child to the Lord. Of a ceremony of presentation we know nothing expressly from the law or from Jewish custom. But that such an act was sometimes voluntarily performed, in this case perhaps exceptionally, as an outward expression of the devotion of the child to the Lord, which devotion the law required, is by no means improbable. Indeed, if it be true, as Edersheim states (*Life of Jesus*, Vol. I, p. 194, apparently supported by the Mishna, *Bechoroth*, vii, 1; cf. vi, 12), that only a child without blemish could be redeemed, it would seem almost a matter of necessity that the child should be taken before the priest, and so naturally, in the case of all those living near to Jerusalem, to the temple. Such a presentation could hardly have followed the payment of the redemption price, but must have preceded or accompanied it. Cf. vs. 27. (b) The expression "to present him to the Lord" may be the evangelist's interpretation of Exod. 13:12, "thou shalt set apart to the Lord" (Hebrew, הִעָבַרְתָּ "thou shalt cause to pass over;" Greek, ἀγιάζεις, "thou shalt consecrate"), or of the words which stood in his Hebrew source at this point. In the former case we should suppose that the evangelist added "to present him to the Lord," and the quotation of vs. 23, as his own explanation of the visit to Jerusalem, the source having contained only vss. 22a and 24; in the latter case the whole matter stood in his Hebrew source, the Greek expression being Luke's translation of it.

Respecting the apparent discrepancy between redemption thirty days, and purification forty days, after the birth of the child, both spoken of as occurring on the same visit to Jerusalem, it is to be observed that, although the law of Numb. 16:18 names a month after the birth of the child as the approximate time at which the redemption price was due (on the force of the preposition מִן in such a case see BROWN, DRIVER, and BRIGGS, *Hebrew Lexicon*, s. v., 2, b), yet in

usage a certain leeway was allowed. This seems to be clearly indicated in the Mishna, *Bechoroth*, viii, 6 (*cf.* also viii, 5), in which it is prescribed that "if a first-born son dies within thirty days, the priest must return the money which has been paid for his redemption, if it has already been received; but if the son dies after thirty days, the father must still pay the money to the priest, if he has not already given it. . . . If the father dies inside of thirty days the son rests under the presumption that the redemption price has not been paid, unless he is able to produce proof of its payment. If the father dies after thirty days, the presumption is that the redemption price has been paid, unless the contrary can be proved." From this passage it appears that, though the redemption price was properly payable at the end of a month, it might be paid even earlier or later; and this renders it probable that, especially if the parents intended to go to the temple at the time of the ceremony of the purification, they would thus delay a few days the payment of the redemption price. Indeed, in a country where travel and transportation of money were less easy than in modern times, some leeway would be almost a matter of necessity. For other and extreme instances of delay in the ceremonies appointed for a definite time, see *Bechoroth*, viii, 5, and *Kherithoth*, i, 7.

Against the supposition that the whole passage is simply the work of one who knew neither the facts nor Jewish law and custom, and in favor of an explanation that finds, either in the passage as it stands, or in the original of which it is a translation, an account consistent with the law or the usage of the first century, there are two considerations which are at least of some weight: (a) It is probable that a writer who knew neither the facts nor Jewish usage, but who had access, as this writer evidently had, to the Old Testament scriptures would have made his references to these more exact, if not even verbally so. The very departures from the letter of the law imply that behind this narrative there lies something besides the bare prescriptions of the law and the imagination of the writer. (b) The quotation of Lev. 12:8 in vs. 24 does not bear the marks of having been introduced by an inventor who was unfamiliar with Jewish law and custom. Such a writer, adding a specific statement of what sacrifice was offered, could hardly have done so except to emphasize the fact that the offering was that which the law per-

mitted to the poor, and in that case would surely not have failed to call attention to this by some comment. This sentence must then reflect either acquaintance with the facts or familiarity with Jewish usage, if not also an assumption of such familiarity on the part of his readers. In either case it is not the invention of one unfamiliar with Jewish usage. But vs. 22, as far as the word "Jerusalem," must come from the same hand as 24 (*i. e.*, cannot be the addition of a later hand), and "their" must in that case be either an error of translation or reflect correctly the thought of that time. But if vss. 22*a* and 24 are, at least in their original form, from the hand, not of an ignorant inventor, but of one who knew either the facts or Jewish usage or both, it is improbable that vss. 22*b*, 23 are an interpolation of one who therein betrays his ignorance. For it is improbable that one ignorant enough to insert "their" in vs. 22 incorrectly (as is the case on the supposition that the errors of the passage are due to one who translated the Hebrew original and inserted vss. 22*b*, 23) would feel any occasion to add a presentation ceremony to that of purification narrated in this document. And if "their" is not an error of translation, but a correct reflection of custom or thought not otherwise known to us, then it is gratuitous to assume that the reflections in vss. 22*b*, 23 of custom likewise unknown to us, but not contradictory to the law, are the invention of ignorance.

Apparently, therefore, probability lies between the possibilities that "their" *αὐτῶν* in vs. 22 and "to present" *παραστήσαι* in vs. 23 are errors of translation, and, on the other hand, that the whole account as it stands correctly reflects the Jewish usage and thought of the first century, to whose divergencies from the letter of the law, not otherwise known to us, we have testimony in this passage.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS TO ONE ANOTHER

IN the previous chapters the first three gospels have been separately examined, with only brief and incidental reference to their relation to one another. But no attentive reader of these gospels can have failed to observe that they are in many respects alike, and even a cursory comparison of them on the one side, with one another and, on the other, with the fourth gospel will serve to set this fact of the mutual resemblance of the first three gospels in clearer light. The fact is by no means a modern discovery. Tatian's treatment of the several gospels in the construction of his *Diatessaron* in the latter part of the second century, shows clearly that he had observed the practical equivalence of many of the narratives in the several gospels; and Augustine, at the beginning of the fifth century, proposed a theory to account for a part of the facts.

In modern times, the fact that the first three gospels present to so large a degree the same view of the facts of the life of Jesus has led to the common application to them of the title the "Synoptic Gospels," and the problem of discovering how this resemblance came about, which soon resolves itself into the problem how these gospels arose, is called the "Synoptic Problem."

I. THE ELEMENTS OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

The chief elements of the problem are five:

I. *The similarity of these gospels to one another.*—

(a) They are all built upon the same general historical

framework. Thus they all contain, after an account of the preaching of John the Baptist, and of the baptism and temptation of Jesus, a narrative of Jesus' Galilean ministry, of a journey to Jerusalem, of the last week in Jerusalem, and of the post-resurrection story, all omitting the early Judean ministry of which the fourth gospel contains an account. (b) They record in considerable part the same events in these periods, a fact the significance of which will be better appreciated if it be remembered how small a fraction of the events of Jesus' ministry must be included in the narratives, and if it be noticed to how large an extent the fourth gospel records a different series of events. (c) They resemble one another in the order of events, the resemblance between Mark and Luke being especially close. (d) Finally, there is very close verbal resemblance in the record of the events narrated in common by two or by all three of the synoptists. This verbal resemblance, though of differing degrees, is unlike the resemblance in order, in that it is apparently unaffected by the particular combination of authorities at the point at which it appears. The nature and extent of this resemblance may be seen in the following examples:

MATT. 12:1-8

MARK 2:23-28

LUKE 6:1-5

<p>At that season Jesus went on the sabbath day through the cornfields; and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck ears of corn, and to eat. But the Pharisees, when they saw it, said unto him,</p>	<p>And it came to pass, that he was going on the sabbath day through the cornfields; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn. And the Pharisees said unto him, Behold,</p>	<p>Now it came to pass on a sabbath, that he was going through the cornfields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands. But certain of the Pharisees said, Why do ye that</p>
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MATT. 12: 1-8

Behold, thy disciples do that which it is not lawful to do upon the sabbath. But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungred, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which it was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests? Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath day the priests in the temple profane the sabbath and are guiltless? But I say unto you, that one greater than the temple is here. But if ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.

MARK 2: 23-28

why do they on the sabbath day that which is not lawful? And he said unto them, Did ye never read what David did, when he had need, and was an hungred, and they that were with him? How he entered into the house of God when Abiathar was high priest, and did eat the shewbread, which it is not lawful to eat save for the priests, and gave also to them that were with him?

LUKE 6: 1-5

which it is not lawful to do on the sabbath day? And Jesus answering them said, Have ye not read even this, what David did, when he was an hungred, he, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did take and eat the shewbread, and gave also to them that were with him; which it is not lawful to eat save for the priests alone?

And he
said unto them, The
sabbath was made for
man, and not man for

And he said

unto them,

MATT. 12: 1-8

MARK 2: 23-28

LUKE 6: 1-5

the sabbath: so that

For the Son of man is The Son of man is
the Son of man is lord even of the sab- lord of the sabbath.
lord of the sabbath. bath.

MATT. 4: 18-22

MARK 1: 16-20

And walking by the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea; for they were fishers. And he saith unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left the nets, and followed him. And going on from thence he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they straightway left the boat and their father, and followed him.

And passing along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net in the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets, and followed him. And going on a little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat mending the nets. And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.

MATT. 3: 7-10

LUKE 3: 7-9

But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, he said unto them, Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance: and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of

He said therefore to the multitudes that went out to be baptized of him,
Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of

MATT. 3:7-10

these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

MARK 1:21-28

And they go into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and taught. And they were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as having authority, and not as the scribes. And straightway there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And the unclean spirit, tearing him and crying with a loud voice, came out of him. And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What is this? a new teaching! with authority he commandeth even the unclean spirits, and they obey him. And the report of him went out straightway everywhere into all the region of Galilee round about.

LUKE 3:7-9

these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe also laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

LUKE 4:31-37

And he came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee. And he was teaching them on the sabbath day: and they were astonished at his teaching; for his word was with authority. And in the synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean devil; and he cried out with a loud voice, Ah! what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him down in the midst, he came out of him, having done him no hurt. And amazement came upon all, and they spake together, one with another, saying, What is this word? for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out. And there went forth a rumour concerning him into every place of the region round about.

It will be observed that in the first instance the resemblance of all three is shown; in the second, that of Matthew and Mark; in the third, that of Matthew and Luke; and in the fourth, that of Mark and Luke.

Such verbal similarity as is indicated above extends also to the quotations from the Old Testament, even where the quotation departs both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint version. Illustration of this may be seen in Matt. 3:3 compared with Mark 1:3 and Luke 3:4, and in Matt. 11:10 compared with Mark 1:2 and Luke 7:27.

2. *The differences between these gospels.*—(a) Despite the marked resemblances enumerated above, each gospel has its own distinct motive, as has been pointed out in the preceding chapters. (b) Events recorded by two or all three of the gospels are treated differently in the several gospels in accordance with the specific purpose of each. Thus the healing of the paralytic stands in Mark (2:1-12) as one of a series of events illustrating the growing hostility of the scribes and Pharisees to Jesus. In Matthew (9:1-8) it is recorded in nearly the same words, but is one of a series of events which either illustrate or attest the authority which Jesus has assumed in the sermon on the mount, to which the whole group is appended. This particular incident seems clearly intended to serve as an instance of a deed of power attesting the authority of a word, and the evangelist adds the comment, "when the multitudes saw it, they were afraid, and glorified God which had given such authority to men." (c) In a few cases there are wholly independent accounts of what is evidently the same event. Thus of the call of the four fishermen, Matthew and Mark have practically the same account (Matt. 4:18-22; Mark 1:16-20), but Luke quite

a different one (Luke 5:1-11). (*d*) Each evangelist narrates some events not recorded by the others, and omits some recorded by the others. Thus Luke has in 9:51—18:34, constituting nearly one-third of his gospel, a series of events and discourses for which there is no parallel at the corresponding place in the other gospels, and most of which do not appear in the other gospels at all. To the story of the public ministry of Jesus, which Mark also records, Matthew and Luke each prefix a story of the birth and infancy of Jesus, yet not at all the same story.

3. *The preface of Luke*.—This as already pointed out in chap. iii, furnishes most important data for determining in general how written gospels arose, and in particular what material, both oral and written, was in existence when Luke was written. It demands careful attention, as unquestionably the oldest and most valuable testimony on these points that we have received from antiquity. It reads as follows:

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.

From this statement we are enabled to glean the following facts of interest and significance: (*a*) When the evangelist wrote there were already in existence several narratives of the life of Jesus, more or less complete. (*b*) These narratives were based, at least in the intention of their writers, on the oral narratives of the life of Jesus which proceeded from the personal companions of Jesus,

men who had witnessed the events from the beginning, and from the beginning had been ministers of the word, servants of the gospel. It is suggested at least that there was a somewhat definite body of such oral narrative. (*c*) In its scope this oral gospel was coincident with the public life of Jesus. "They who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" are one class, not two; this phrase cannot mean, "those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses" and "those who were ministers of the word." From the beginning must therefore mean from the beginning of Jesus' ministry, not of his life, and the implication is that that which these transmitted was that which they knew.¹ (*d*) These previous gospels nevertheless left something to be desired in respect of completeness or accuracy; our author recognizes a need for a book different from those of his predecessors. (*e*) Our evangelist does not himself belong to the circle of eye-witnesses, but to those to whom the eyewitnesses transmitted their testimony (vs. 2). (*f*) Yet neither is he far

¹ Incidentally, therefore, this preface reflects the same conception of the limits of the gospel narrative that appears in Mark and is expressed in Acts 1: 21, 22, "Of the men therefore which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of his resurrection." This agreement with Mark and Acts in reference to the limits of the gospel story is all the more interesting that it occurs in a book which includes a narrative of the birth and its associated events. The phrase "from the first" in vs. 3 seems to go back of what the evangelist here calls the beginning, to the source of the stream of events, so to speak, in the facts that led up to the ministry of Jesus. It is, in any case, notable that by his inclusion of a narrative of events preceding the public ministry of Jesus, the evangelist exceeds the limits which he implies to have been those of that tradition and those written works which preceded his.

removed from them; though others have preceded him in writing, he classes himself with those to whom the testimony of the eyewitnesses was delivered, and even associates himself under the pronoun "us" (vs. 1) with those among whom the events of Jesus' life occurred, thus intimating that these events fell within his own time. (g) He had access, therefore, not only to these other writings, but to that living oral testimony from which these other writers drew. (h) He had made painstaking investigation respecting the material of his narrative, having searched all things out from the beginning. (i) He had in view in writing, not those to whom the history of Jesus was unknown, but those who had already been taught orally. Observe the significant testimony thus indirectly borne that it was the habit of the church, even at this early day, to teach the life of Christ, and the clear indication that this gospel at least was not for unbelievers, but for believers. (j) His object in writing is to furnish his reader an entirely trustworthy record of the life of Jesus, an historical basis of faith.

4. *Statements of early Christian writers concerning the authorship of the several gospels.*—These reflect the opinions held by Christians in the early part of the second century. Some of the most important of these statements have already been quoted in the preceding chapters. Of special significance for the problem with which this chapter deals are the statements of Papias concerning Matthew and Mark, transmitted by Eusebius.

But now we must add to the words of his which we have already quoted the tradition which he [Papias] gives in regard to Mark the author of the gospel. It is in the following words: "This also the presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter,

wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses [*λόγων* or *λογίων*], so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely. These things are related by Papias concerning Mark. But concerning Matthew he writes as follows: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles [or sayings, *λόγια*] in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able."² (EUSEBIUS, *H. E.*, iii, 39.)

Though these statements directly prove what was believed in the second century rather than what took place in the first, and though they are subject to correction by internal evidence, they furnish when confirmed by internal evidence, a much stronger basis of judgment than is given by either alone.

5. *The literary method of the age.*—This furnishes an important datum for the solution of our problem. There is a strong presumption that the methods by which the gospels were produced were not radically different from those which were common in that age, and that, if the phenomena which are discovered by a careful comparison of the gospels are paralleled in other literature of that age, the processes by which they were produced were also similar. That such literary methods are or are not in vogue today is of little significance. It is the common methods of the time in which the gospels arose with which we are concerned. In this connection two facts are important to observe.

a) Narratives and teachings were often preserved and

² MCGIFFERT'S translation.

transmitted for a considerable period in oral form before being put into writing. The Targums—*i. e.*, paraphrases of the Old Testament books in the vernacular—existed orally for a century or more before assuming definite written form. The “tradition of the elders” was in the time of Jesus already somewhat definitely fixed, but it was not till the second century that it was put into fixed written form. The epistles of Paul and the preface of Luke’s gospel bear witness that the story of the life of Jesus was told by word of mouth and made the subject of instruction before the rise of written gospels, at least of any written gospels of which we have definite knowledge.

b) The construction of a book by the piecing together of other books already written and published was a common practice of that day. The book of Enoch, as we possess it in the Ethiopic text, is composed of smaller books by different authors, and of different dates, perhaps three in number. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles contains imbedded in it the “Two Ways,” which appears in a similar form in the ecclesiastical canons and in an independent Latin translation. But the most instructive example in its bearing upon the problem of the rise of our gospels is the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, prepared by an Assyrian Christian about 175 A. D. From our four gospels, substantially as we now have them, Tatian with scissors and paste constructed a new gospel, to which either he or others after him gave the name *Diatessaron*, “composed of four.” This composite gospel came into common use in the churches of Syria, and largely displaced the separate gospels, till Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, in the fifth century, removed them from some two hundred churches, putting in their place the separate gospels.

The inference from these facts is, of course, neither that the gospels were necessarily the product of oral tradition, nor that they were certainly produced from older written gospels, but that both the reduction to writing of matter for a time transmitted orally, and the employment of written works in the composition of new books being common phenomena of that time, neither is to be denied as *a priori* impossible in the case of the gospels, and either is to be readily admitted, if suitable evidence of it appears.

II. THEORIES PROPOSED FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

As long ago as Augustine, as already mentioned, the resemblances of the gospels were noticed, and the suggestion was put forth by him that Mark had condensed his narrative from Matthew. Jerome discussed the question of the relation between the original Hebrew Matthew and the Greek Matthew then and now current in the church. Serious and thorough investigation of the whole problem, however, dates from the latter part of the eighteenth century, since which time many theories have been proposed. To set forth these theories in detail lies beyond the scope of this short introduction to the gospels. It will, however, be useful to indicate in broad outline the classes of theories which have been proposed.

I. The theory of a common document from which all three of our synoptic gospels drew was proposed by Eichhorn in 1794, and for a time commended itself to many scholars. But to account for the differences of the gospels as well as the resemblances, it was necessary to suppose that this document existed in several recensions. Of these Eichhorn made four, which number Bishop

Marsh found it necessary to raise to eight. And when it was pointed out that even this large number of documents, for none of which there was definite objective evidence, failed fully to account for the facts, the theory broke down under its own weight and complexity, and today probably has no advocates.

2. The theory of an oral gospel regards the oral teaching and preaching of the apostles and early missionaries and catechists as the direct source of our synoptic gospels. This teaching, it is held, naturally assumed, while the apostles were still living, a somewhat fixed and definite form, or perhaps several such forms resembling one another, yet having each its own peculiarities. The differences between the several synoptic gospels are due to the flexible character of this living oral tradition, or to the variant forms which it assumed; the resemblances to its fixed element. Gieseler gave definite form to this view in his work, *Entstehung der Evangelien*, 1818, and it still has zealous defenders. Like the tradition in which it finds the source of our gospels, it is very flexible and has taken on many variant forms. Thus Edwin A. Abbott, making the oral gospel to contain only what is strictly common to all three synoptists, reduced it to little more than a series of detached and fragmentary notes.³ Arthur Wright, on the other hand, making large use of the intimations that there existed in the early church a class of catechetical evangelists, constructs several cycles of tradition out of which by varied combination he supposes our gospels to have arisen.⁴

³ See ABBOTT, *The Common Tradition*.

⁴ See WRIGHT, *Composition of the Gospels and Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*.

The serious question concerning this general theory is not whether an oral gospel in fact existed, nor whether it is the source of our gospels—both these things are generally admitted, and are almost directly affirmed in Luke's preface—but whether it is the direct source of the present gospels. The close resemblances of the gospels to one another in certain parts and respects, as well as the peculiar and uneven distribution of these resemblances, lead many scholars to believe that between the oral gospel and the present gospels there must have been written gospels, and also that there must have been some direct dependence of our present gospels on one another. Thus there has arisen another class of theories, which admit the existence and influence of the oral gospel, but do not find in it the immediate and sole source of our present gospels. They may be grouped under the head of—

3. The theory of an original document or documents supplemented by that of the interdependence of our present gospels. It is evident that this view naturally takes on many forms according to the document or documents assumed to be original and the order of dependence which is predicated. It must suffice to mention the views of a few well-known scholars.

Meyer regarded the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew, the oracles spoken of by Papias, as the oldest document. This was used by Mark, who had as his other chief source his personal recollection of the preaching of Peter. Our present gospel of Matthew grew out of the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew largely under the influence of Mark, and under this influence was translated into Greek. Luke used Mark and the Greek Matthew as we still have it.

Bernhard Weiss holds a similar view, differing most conspicuously in holding that Luke used, not our present Matthew, but a Greek translation of the original Matthew.

Holtzmann, Bruce, Wendt, and others while recognizing the use both of Mark and of the original Matthew by the first and third evangelists, regard Mark itself as an independent work. According to this view, there lie at the basis of our gospels two original and independent documents, the original Matthew and Mark, the latter identical, or nearly so, with our present second gospel. This is known as the two-document theory.

Wernle finds the two chief sources of our Matthew and Luke in the gospel of Mark and a collection of discourses, but supposes that each of them had besides these two another source or sources, that of Matthew consisting of discourse material only, that of Luke containing both narrative and discourse material.⁵

It is beyond the scope of this brief chapter to undertake a full exposition either of the principles by which the solution of the problem must be reached, or of the facts which an attentive study of the gospels discovers, or of the conclusions to which an interpretation of these facts lead.

⁵ [Streeter agrees that our Matthew and Luke embody as common sources the gospel of Mark and a document, now lost, consisting chiefly of discourse material. He further supposes that the authors of Matthew and Luke each had another source of his own that he utilized independently. A distinctive feature of Streeter's hypothesis is that in the case of the third gospel this peculiar material existed in combination with the discourse document as a "proto-Luke," before it was united with Mark to form the present gospel of Luke. See STREETER, *The Four Gospels* (1925).

In Germany a new school of critical investigation has recently developed which seeks to penetrate beyond the methods and results of a merely documentary criticism of the gospels. It appeals to the social experience

It must suffice to state a little more fully than has been done under the "Elements of the Problem" some of the more important facts, and to indicate very briefly the limits within which the solution probably lies.

III. FACTS RESPECTING THE RELATION OF THE GOSPELS TO ONE ANOTHER

1. In material common to all three gospels Mark's gospel resembles each of the others, both in order of events and in content of sections, much more closely than these two resemble each other. Indeed, there are no instances of Matthew and Luke agreeing in order against Mark, and their agreements against Mark in content of sections common to all three are confined to an occasional brief phrase and the occasional common omission of material found in Mark. This indicates that Mark is in some sense the middle term between Matthew and Luke, but does not determine in precisely what sense it is such.

2. Matthew and Luke have in common a considerable amount of material not found in Mark. The verbal resemblance of this material in the two gospels is often very close; but in its location there is scarcely any agree-

of early Christian communities and endeavors to understand the influence of group activities and interests in fixing the literary form of early Christian tradition regarding Jesus. Its contention is that the religious experiences of Christian groups rather than the literary skill of particular authors determined to a large extent the form and content of the gospels. For a summary appraisal of the findings of this school see E. FASCHER, *Die formgeschichtliche Methode* (1924). See further BULTMANN, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921); SCHMIDT, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919); DIBELIUS, *Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1919); BRUN, *Die Auferstehung Christi* (1925).]

ment between them. This marked difference between the treatment of the material which both share with Mark and that which they share with one another but not with Mark, must evidently be taken into account in explaining their method of procedure.

3. Matthew has a considerable amount of discourse material peculiar to himself. This material is mainly contained in long discourses in which, with the exception of the sermon on the mount, the narrative introduction and the beginning of the discourse are found in Mark. Matthew has no narratives peculiar to himself, except in the infancy sections, and the story of the guards at the sepulcher of Jesus (27: 62-66).⁶

4. Luke has a number of narratives and a considerable amount of discourse material peculiar to himself. The great Perean section (9: 57—18:14; 19: 1-28), practically made up of discourses with brief narrative introductions, has no parallel at this point in either of the other gospels. Of the discourse material proper, a part is peculiar to Luke, a part is found also in Matthew differently located, the two elements being closely interwoven.

5. The resemblances of parallel passages in the gospels, especially in discourse material, are often very close; closer, *e. g.*, than is usual in quotations of the New Testament from the Old Testament. These latter were made, of course, from a written source, but usually, no doubt, from memory. The relation of the synoptic gospels to one another and to the sources which, as we must in view of their resemblances infer, lay behind them, closely

⁶ To these should perhaps be added 9: 27-31, a variant account of 20: 29-34, as 9: 32-34 is clearly a duplicate of 12: 22-24.

resemble those which are discovered between Tatian and his sources; these latter being our four gospels, which he possessed in substantially their present form. While Tatian's resemblance to his sources perhaps exceeds that of the gospels in some respects, for which there are special reasons, in other respects he has used his sources with greater freedom than the evangelists have apparently allowed themselves in reference to theirs.⁷

IV. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

While the above statement of facts is very far from complete, it is perhaps sufficient to prepare the way for a tentative statement of conclusions for which a high degree of probability may be claimed.

1. The synoptic gospels are not independent documents, but have some literary relationship.

2. That relationship is documentary, *i. e.*, due not solely to the use of a common tradition, but mediated in part by written gospels.

3. Mark's gospel, or a nearly equivalent document, was used by both the others, furnishing them their general framework and the material common to all three.

4. There was another source, or other sources, also written, which Matthew and Luke possessed in common, but which one or both of them used in a very different way from that in which they used Mark; in particular, in that this source or these sources did not control the arrangement and order of material.

5. Since the first and third gospels each have a considerable amount of material in common, and each has also

⁷ See HOBSON, *The Synoptic Problem in the Light of Tatian's Diatessaron* (Chicago, 1904).

much that is not used by the other, it is evident, either that neither of them used all that was in their common source, or that one at least of them had also a source not possessed by the other. If they had only a common source, that source was in all probability the Logia of Matthew mentioned by Papias. If in addition to this common source the first evangelist had a peculiar source, this latter was probably the Logia spoken of by Papias. The hypothesis of a source or sources used in common by both, *plus* a source peculiar to Matthew, seems better to account for the facts than that of a common source only. Even the common source must have been used quite differently by the two evangelists.

6. Behind all our present gospels and their written sources there doubtless lay, as Luke's preface indicates, an oral tradition ultimately derived from the eyewitnesses. Being, as Luke's preface also suggests, still in existence when he wrote, this tradition was not only a probable source of the oldest documents, but probably contributed something directly also to the latest gospels.

7. Our present gospels of Matthew and Luke exceed somewhat, as Luke's preface indicates, the scope of this tradition, and of the documents based directly on it. Alike the comparison of our gospels and the testimony of Luke's preface indicate that for the infancy narratives, and probably for some other portions of the gospels, minor sources additional to those named above must be supposed.

8. There is nothing in the facts respecting the relation of the gospels to one another to disprove the earliest statements of tradition respecting the authorship of these gos-

pels. But the statement of Papias respecting the Logia of Matthew must be supposed to refer, not to our present first gospel, but to one of its sources.

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APPENDED NOTE IV

THE DATES OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

I. THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

1. The attitude of the first gospel in respect to the Old Testament law is post-Pauline. This book makes no announcement of its specific purpose as John and Luke do. But it is clear beyond a doubt that it is a book with a purpose and that that purpose is not simply to record facts. It is written mainly or exclusively for Jewish Christians, and is intended to convince them that Jesus, the true fulfiller of the messianic hope and prophecy, being rejected by the Jewish people, inaugurated a movement and founded a church which was no longer limited by national boundaries, and in which not the old statutory law of Moses, but the new law of principles and of love was to be in force. Now it is true that Paul incidentally and on a single occasion took substantially the same ground. But for the most part Paul contented himself with defending the freedom of the Gentiles who became Christians, and while he contended for the unity of the church, it was for a unity which consisted in the retention of churches of two quite different types within the same ecumenical body: the one type predominantly Gentile and free from the law; the other Jewish and observing the law. The gospel of Matthew represents a later stage of thinking, or at least the furthest outpost of Paul's thinking on this matter. Its argument, addressed to Jewish Christians, is to the effect that Jewish blood and nationality are no longer of significance. The church is to be a church of all nations, in which Jews are to have their place, but not as Jews. The Kingdom of God has been taken from the Jewish nation. The law is fulfilled in the one commandment on which hang all the law and the prophets. The church is one, its principle of unity is faith in Christ and the doing of his will, which is found not in the statutes of the Old Testament but in the single principle of love.

2. Its conception of the church and of Peter's relation to it belongs to a period distinctly later than that of the Pauline controversy. Its references to the church are too few to permit us to lay much stress on

them, but the total evidence tends to the conclusion that the idea of the church expressed so forcibly in the sixteenth chapter is a Pauline contribution to Christian thought. At least it appears first in his writings.

But it is in the relation of Peter to this ecumenical body that the late date of Matthew appears most clearly. In its general type of thought his gospel is Pauline—really ultra-Pauline. Now while the Tübingen school undoubtedly overstated the antagonism between Peter and Paul, Galatians and the Corinthian letters leave no room for doubt that they represented different parties and in a measure different attitudes. That Peter and Paul were personally friendly is altogether possible, and a mere attempt to unite a Petrine and Pauline party would be congenial to Paul himself and would not argue a late date for a writing which endeavored to bring this about. But Matthew, chapter 16, goes much beyond this. It makes Peter the rock on which the church universal is founded—a position which Paul would never have conceded. This goes a long way toward the position of the Roman Catholic church, and it is hard to conceive that it could have been taken, least of all taken by a Paulinist, much before the end of the first century. If it is not an interpolation, it argues for a date of the gospel not much, if any, before 100 A.D.

3. Its infancy narrative represents a further development from Luke's narrative, which is itself unknown to Paul. It is an obvious fact that Luke 1:34 is out of harmony with its context. The preceding verses say that the angel announced to Mary, who was betrothed to a man of the house of David, that she should bear a son to whom should be given the throne of his father, David. The obvious suggestion of the language is, of course, that she would bear this son after her marriage and as the son of Joseph who was of the Davidic line. But according to vs. 34 Mary answered, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" to which the angel answered in vs. 35, "Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; wherefore also thine offspring shall be called holy, Son of God." The question seems clearly to be occasioned not by what preceded but by vs. 35, and to proceed from one to whom this verse seemed an affirmation that the child should be—so to speak—of mixed blood, God and man.

It can scarcely be doubted that vss. 34 and 35a are from a later

hand than that of the original writer, having no occasion in what preceded, and interrupting what is otherwise a good connection. The original narrative predicted a birth in the course of nature, in the Davidic line, but from a mother who in the period of her pregnancy should be peculiarly under the influence of the Spirit of God. The Spirit is here, as usually in the Old Testament and in the Jewish literature of the period, the power of God exerting an ethical and spiritual influence upon men. The interjection of vs. 34 takes the event out of the course of nature into that of extraordinary miracle, and transforms the Spirit into a power in the biological realm, a usage and idea unparalleled so far as we know up to this time or afterward except under the influence of this passage.

But it is this passage as so transformed, or the theory which it expressed, that gave occasion to the Matthew form of the infancy story. The revised Luke story easily gave rise to the slanderous counter-charge that Jesus was a bastard son of Mary. To this the church answered in Matthew's story, first that it was not true, reaffirming the Lukan explanation that he was conceived of the Holy Spirit, but adding in the indirect but unmistakable language of the genealogical table that even if this were true it could not disprove his messiahship. For there were, in any case, at least three women in the messianic line over whose character or marriage there was a shadow.

Thus the gospel of Matthew is three steps removed from Paul. First, the Luke story in the later form, then the scandal, then an answer to it. Of course we do not know that it was precisely the change in Luke's narrative that gave rise to the scandal. It may have been rather the idea there expressed, but circulated perhaps in tradition. But this does not materially affect the fact that between Paul and Matthew there has been a considerable development of thought.

4. The trinitarian formula of Matt. 28: 19 has its only parallel in the New Testament in II Corinthians. This epistle is an edited compilation of fragments of Paul's letters. It was probably assembled in the second century. The benediction is probably like that of Romans, editorial. It would be strange, indeed, if precisely in a compilation of Paul's epistles we should have from him a benediction which he never used anywhere else and which departed so far from his others. Thus our earliest evidence of the use of a trinitarian formula is probably

after 100 A.D. On the other hand, even Acts knows of no baptism into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit such as is contained in the great commission of Matthew. Presumably, therefore, this formula is the reflection of a relatively late development of practice. These four lines of evidence converge to suggest a date at least late in the first century for the great commission in its Matthew form.

II. THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

1. This gospel was written as its preface and internal evidence show after a considerable number of other gospels had been produced. In some respects it represents an earlier form of Christian tradition than Matthew, but in others possibly a later.

2. Among its sources are Mark and certain other documents which, though covering in general a part of the same ground as Mark, nevertheless represent a different tradition from Mark and probably a later one. This seems to be the case in respect to such narratives as the temptation, the call of the Four, the rejection at Nazareth, and the anointing in the house of Simon. The brief Markan narrative is not likely to have been produced when the fuller ones were already in circulation.

3. One of the narratives parallel to Mark was used by Luke in the passion and resurrection history. Here again the expanded Lukan narrative is more likely to have been the later of the two. Especially is it the case that the eschatological discourse in the non-Markan source appears to be both later than Mark and subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem.

It is an interesting theory which Allen proposes that Luke wrote his gospel at Caesarea during Paul's imprisonment there and for the purpose of proving that "Jesus had never in word or act suggested the abrogation of the Mosaic law or the admission of the Gentiles to the Kingdom except of course on the same terms on which they had always been admitted to the privileges of the Jewish covenant." However, this combination of Pauline companionship and entire rejection of the Pauline gospel is a bit strained and improbable. Before deciding that Luke is anti-Pauline, account must be taken of the fact that the author has retained some of the distinctly anti-legalistic sayings of Jesus that he found in his sources. Thus with

the exception of the saying, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath," which Matthew also lacks, and which therefore may not have been in the original Mark, Luke is as clear on the Sabbath teaching of Jesus as Mark is. So also he retains the saying about fasting. He has also the saying that the law and the prophets were until John, and has it in a form much more suggestive of doing away with the law than is the form which is found in Matthew.

One has also to answer the question how a man who wrote a pro-legal gospel could write a second book that is so clearly in praise of Paul—even though also praising Peter—as is Acts.

Allen's theory that Luke is pro-legal will hardly stand. And when one takes into account the harmonizing tendency of Acts—its exaltation of both Paul and Peter and its comparative ignoring of the legalistic controversy—it seems most probable that the gospel is to be assigned to a time when the controversy was over. It must be supposed that it was written for Gentiles who would read the beautiful infancy narrative, as we do, with never a thought that it requires us to circumcise our children, and to whom a controversy about clean hands or clean and unclean foods would be without significance. If so, then we must again place Luke's gospel as well as the book of Acts some time after the Pauline controversy.

III. THE GOSPEL OF MARK

1. The second gospel is clearly older than Matthew or Luke; how much older is the question.

2. Its attitude toward the law is clearly Pauline; yet not like Matthew studiedly so, nor ultra-Pauline. Its occasional comments, such as "Making all meats clean," seem to show that the question was in the air, when the author wrote, in much the form which it had in Paul's day. Of the two possibilities that this Pauline attitude toward the law is itself a product of Paulinism, or that it is a product of a pre-Pauline tradition edited in Paul's day or soon after, the latter is on the whole more probable.

a) If it were post-Pauline it would probably be expressed in more nearly Pauline terms. The word "law" never occurs in Mark.

b) The evidence of the Pauline epistles on the whole indicates that the early church was not nearly so legalistic at the beginning as it

became after the incoming of a strong pharisaic element. This situation is accounted for by the supposition that there was an element of liberalism in Jesus' conduct and teaching, though not a generalized and explicit anti-legalism like that which Paul afterward developed. The development of the latter may have contributed to the production of Mark's gospel and certainly helps to account for its editorial remarks. But the narratives suggest recollections stimulated by an existing controversy rather than out-and-out creations. Had they been the latter they would probably have dealt more nearly with the actual questions that Paul had to do with. There is, in fact, little in common except in principle. The central point with Paul was circumcision, which Mark does not mention. The emphatic point in Mark is the Sabbath, which Paul barely mentions. Paul never mentions fasting. Foods are about equally prominent in both.

c) Yet it is scarcely conceivable that Paul can have had this gospel. Paul probably had access to an oral tradition of Jesus' life, more or less formally composed, but there is no clear evidence that he had a written gospel. Even if he had, it could hardly have been Mark. It is true that he makes little use of the narratives of Jesus' life. Yet he is not averse to using the events and teachings of Jesus when they serve his purpose. It is very unlikely, therefore, that if he had a gospel containing so much that would be useful to him in his anti-legalistic controversy as Mark has he would have refused to use it. We must conclude that he did not have it when he was writing his anti-legalistic letters. Apparently what happened was that some man who was led to take his side in the controversy was influenced by that fact to include in his gospel, written after the controversy was practically over, some parts of the tradition that supported Paul's side of the case.

3. It is not possible, however, to regard the basic narrative of the gospel of Mark as post-Pauline. On the contrary, while the synoptic evangelists themselves are Pauline and post-Pauline in time and doctrine and have employed their sources in the interest of their own point of view, yet the sources of these gospels represent a pre-Pauline tradition. But this pre-Pauline tradition reflects a liberal attitude on Jesus' part—an essential break with legalism, but not a formulated anti-legalism, least of all an attempt to organize an anti-legal church or sect. The order of development in general is as follows:

a) The teaching of Jesus, in which there was essential, but not aggressive anti-legalism.

b) An early Jewish church which was only moderately liberal, but which contained a sufficient element of liberalism to alarm such men as Paul the Pharisee.

c) The development of a tradition of the teaching of Jesus which preserved in an uncontroversial spirit the teachings to which this early attitude of the church corresponded.

d) The conversion of Saul, and the adoption by him of a pronounced anti-legalism, which however did not at once lead to any conflict between himself and the churches of Judea. In this early absence of conflict are probably reflected both his moderation of expression and their own moderate attitude.

e) The incoming of a strong legal element into the Christian community, and the rise of the controversy between this party and Paul.

f) The consequent explicit statement of the Pauline view in his epistles to the Galatians and the Romans.

g) The writing of the gospel of Mark and later Luke and Matthew all of which take in general the Pauline side in the controversy. An out-and-out legalistic gospel giving us a legalistic version of the teaching of Jesus does not seem to have been preserved for us.

h) The writing of the gospel of John, which while representing a post-Pauline development, is also to be characterized as post-synoptic in that it re-writes an essentially synoptic basis under the influence of Paul and Hellenism.

We conclude, therefore, that Mark though embodying traditions of the life of Jesus that are older than Paul was not itself known to Paul when he wrote his controversial epistles, and probably therefore was not written until after them. This would suggest a date not earlier than the sixth decade of the first century for Mark's gospel.

4. The Christology of Mark points to about the same date. While Paul held no doctrine of the supernatural birth of Jesus, he does declare that he was the Davidic Messiah, and further that he acquired his divine sonship with power by the resurrection of the dead, when he became a holy spirit. Mark, like Paul, knows no supernatural birth and believes in the Davidic messiahship; but, unlike him, Mark associates the acquisition or at least the consciousness of divine sonship not

with the resurrection but with baptism. It is true that Paul also regards Jesus as having been Son of God before the resurrection, and that his phrase, "with power," in Rom. 1:4 is therefore an essential element of his thought. Yet this does not make the two points of view identical. For Paul does not associate sonship with baptism at all. Instead he relates the pre-resurrection sonship to pre-existence and the sonship which Mark associates with baptism he makes in reality a sonship with power. Apparently, therefore, this point of view is a pushing back of divine sonship with power from the resurrection to the baptism, carrying back also the idea of Holy Spirit correspondingly, though also changing its form.

That the baptism story is still further developed in Matthew and yet further in John is a familiar fact that need not be dwelt on. It is obvious, also, that the infancy story in the Lukan form represents a later development as compared with Paul and Mark in that the divine sonship and the work of the divine spirit in relation to it are carried back from the baptism to the moment of conception. Matthew represents a still later development, and consistently with it makes the baptism not the bestowal of sonship but the announcement of it.

All these things place Mark between Paul and the other synoptists, and suggest for this gospel a date after the death of Paul or late in his life; say again not earlier than the sixth decade of the first century.

5. But the eschatological section of Mark points rather to the seventh or eighth than to the sixth decade. This discourse seems clearly to have been composed under the influence of the thought of the destruction of Jerusalem impending or already past; hence either immediately before 70 A.D. or soon thereafter. How long after one cannot with definiteness say. Nor is this later date in any way in conflict with the evidence already considered.

The probable order of development then seems to be Mark, Luke, Matthew. Mark we may date somewhere not far either way from 70 A.D. Matthew seems to belong toward the end of the century, possibly 90 A.D.—possibly even later. Luke falls somewhere between, but long enough after the Pauline controversy to make it possible for a man of essentially Pauline type of thought to wish to put Peter also on much the same level of dignity as Paul himself. In round numbers we may say, Mark in 70, Luke in 80, Matthew in 90.

CHAPTER V

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN

I. THE AUTHOR

1. *His nationality as it appears in the book itself.*— On this point several classes of facts bear convergent testimony.

a) The author is familiar with Jewish history, customs, and ideas. Thus he speaks of the law as given by Moses (1:17); of the piece of ground which Jacob gave to Joseph (4:5, 6; cf. Gen. 48:22¹); of the priests and Levites in Jerusalem (1:19); of Caiaphas as high-priest that year, reflecting the frequent changes in the high-priestly office made by the Roman and Herodian authorities (11:49, 51; 18:13²). He is familiar with the

¹ The Septuagint reads in Gen. 48:22, ἐγὼ δὲ δίδωμι σοι σίκκιμα "I give thee Shechem" (for this form of the name see Josh. 24:32 and Jos., *Antiq.*, iv, 8, 44), which probably represents Jewish tradition. The statement of the evangelist is particularly significant as indicating an acquaintance both with the region spoken of and with the passage or the tradition based on it.

² These statements are, indeed, alleged to betray ignorance on the writer's part, implying that the high-priest was appointed annually. But it is to be observed (a) that in 18:13-24 the writer shows himself well acquainted with the relations of Annas and Caiaphas, and gives to Annas the title of high-priest in immediate connection with his mention of Caiaphas as high-priest that year; (b) that the office of high-priest was, according to Jewish law, one of life-tenure, but that the Roman and Herodian authorities made frequent changes for their own ends; there were three high-priests between Annas and Caiaphas; (c) that from the Jewish point of view an ex-high-priest still living, at least the oldest living high-priest, would be most legitimately entitled to the name, while, of course, the *de facto* condition would necessarily be recog-

Jewish cycle of feasts (2:13; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2, 37—*cf.* Lev. 23:35, 36; 2 Macc. 10:6; Jos., *Antiq.*, III, 10, 4—10:22; 11:55; 12:1); with the time at which they occurred (6:4, 10; 10:22); with the custom of attending them in Jerusalem (7:2-13); with the habit of the Galileans in particular (4:45; *cf.* Luke 2:41 and abundant outside evidence; 11:55); and with the practice of selling in the temple at the feast time (2:14-16; *cf.* Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, Vol. I, p. 369). He represents correctly the Jewish usage and feeling respecting the sabbath and the "preparation" (5:10 ff.; 19:31, 42; *cf.* 7:23). He is acquainted with the marriage customs of the Jews (2:1 ff.; *cf.* 3:29); with the Jewish ideas about defilement and the custom of purification (2:6; 3:25; 11:55; 18:28; *cf.* Mark 7:3 ff.); and with the nized also; (d) that these facts actually led to the designation of two different men as high-priest at the same time, as, *e. g.*, in Luke 3:2, where Annas and Caiaphas are said to have been high-priests at a certain time (*cf.* Acts 4:6, where Annas is called high-priest), and in Jos., *Antiq.*, xx, 8, 8; xx, 8, 11; xx, 9, 1 and 2, especially the last passage, where Ananus and Jesus are both called high-priests in the same sentence; see also SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People*, Div. II, Vol. I, pp. 202-6, especially the passages cited by him on p. 203; also 3d German edition, Vol. II, pp. 221-24; JOSEPHUS, *Jewish War*, II, 12, 6; IV, 3, 7, 9; IV, 4, 3; *Vit.*, 38; (e) that the evangelist, who evidently knows the personal relations of Annas and Caiaphas, and, with an unstudied carelessness to explain the apparent contradiction, represents two men as high-priest at the same time, yet who in this follows usage illustrated also in Luke and Josephus, can hardly have been so ignorant of the situation as to suppose that Caiaphas held office for one year only (he was, in fact, high-priest for a number of years, though his three predecessors must each have been in office a very short time), or that the high-priestly office was an annual one; (f) that accordingly "that year" is probably to be understood, not of the year of Caiaphas's high-priesthood, but that year—that dreadful year—in the high-priesthood of Caiaphas) in which Jesus died. (*Cf.* B. WEISS, *ad loc.*)

Jews' manner of burying (11:44; 19:39, 40). His statements in 8:59; 10:31, 33 are in accordance with the Jewish penalty for blasphemy (*cf.* Lev. 24:10-16), yet are wholly devoid of any studied attempt to be thus true to Jewish custom. He knows the feeling of the Jews toward Samaritans (4:9); the relations of the Jewish and Roman authorities in the trial of a prisoner, and the function of the high-priest in the matter; and gives a very vivid account of the trial of Jesus in precise conformity to the then existing political situation (chaps. 18, 19).

To these passages may be added certain references to Jewish affairs which occur, not in the language of the author himself, but in that of Jesus and the other characters of the story. If these be supposed to owe their form to the author, then of course they are equally valuable as evidence of nationality with those already named. If they are to be attributed wholly and directly to the characters of the history, then they bear witness to the accuracy of the report, which would lead to the same conclusion respecting the author of the book, or of his sources if such he had.

Thus, as respects matters of external history, in 2:20 the Jews refer to the forty-six years which the rebuilding of the temple begun by Herod had occupied;³ and, in

³ According to Jos., *Antiq.*, xv, 11, 1, the rebuilding of the temple began in the eighteenth year of Herod, that is, between Nisan 734 and 735 A. U. C. From other statements of Josephus it is rendered probable that the building of the temple was begun in December or January. Combining these data, the end of 734 or beginning of 735 is given as the date of the beginning of the temple. Reckoning by the usual Jewish method from Nisan 1 to Nisan 1, and counting any portion of the year at either end of the period as a year, the forty-fifth year of the building of the temple would end, and the forty-sixth year would begin, Nisan 1, 779. If, then, we assume that the period of forty-six years, John 2:20,

18:31, to the unlawfulness of their putting a man to death, in precise accordance with the statement of the Talmud (*Jer. Sanh.*, i, 1, fol. 18a; vii, 2, fol. 24b) that the Jews lost the power to enforce sentence of death forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, viz., about 30 A. D. The language of Nicodemus in 7:51 is in accord-

is reckoned strictly according to the above-mentioned Jewish method, even the two weeks from Nisan 1 to Nisan 15 being counted as a year, the time of the utterance would be the passover, Nisan 15, of the year 779 A. U. C., which is 26 A. D. If, however, it be supposed that so brief a period as two weeks would be ignored in reckoning, then the utterance would date from the passover of 780 A. U. C., which is 27 A. D. The same result is reached if it be supposed that Josephus used the Roman reckoning from January to January (*cf.* LEWIN, *Chronology of the New Testament*, pp. 22 ff.).

The calculation of WIESELER, *Chronology of the Four Gospels*, p. 165, by which he reaches the year 781 (and in which he is followed by SCHÜRER, *Div. I*, Vol. I, p. 410, n. 12; 3d German ed., Vol. I, p. 369, n. 12), is directly contrary to his own statement of the Jewish method of reckoning, and the examples which he himself cites on pp. 51-56.

The only way of reaching a later date is that adopted by Lewin, who, comparing *ἡκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος* of John 2:20 with *ἡκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς* of Jos., *Antiq.*, xv, 11, 3, infers that the evangelist is speaking of the building of the sanctuary exclusive of the foundations, which Josephus has mentioned previously. But it is improbable that one speaking after the lapse of nearly fifty years would make such a discrimination.

That the forty-six years refer to the period which at the time of speaking had elapsed since the beginning of the rebuilding of the temple, is evident from the fact that the temple was, on the one hand, practically completed within nine and a half years (Jos., *Antiq.*, xv, 11, 5, 6), and, on the other hand, not wholly completed until a short time before its destruction by the Romans in the war of 66-70 (Jos., *Antiq.*, xx, 9, 7). Now, the mention of this precise period, not a round number, can be accounted for only on the supposition that the author possessed very accurate sources of information as to the words of Jesus on this occasion, or else that he had a very definite theory as to the chronology of Jesus' life, and also an accurate knowledge of Jewish history. In either case the author — *i. e.*, the author of this section, and presumably, until there is evidence to distinguish them, the author of the book — was in

ance with Jewish law (Deut. 1:16; 19:15), and that of Pilate in 18:39 is in harmony with the statement of the Jewish author of Matt. 27:15, on which, however, it may of course be based. In 3:14 Jesus speaks of Moses lifting up the serpent in the wilderness; in 6:31 the Jews refer to the manna with which the children of Israel were fed;⁴ in 7:42 the Jews refer to Bethlehem as the village where David was. In the matters of Jewish usage and feeling, the language of John in 3:29 is true to the marriage customs of Judea,⁵ that of the Samaritan woman in 4:20 to the Samaritan ideas about place of worship, as are those of the Jews in 8:48 to the Jewish feeling toward the Samaritans. In 7:23 Jesus refers to the practice of circumcising a child even on a sabbath.

In 1:29 John the Baptist points out Jesus as the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, an evident

all probability a Jew. These facts must also be taken into account in deciding whether the cleansing of the temple narrated in this section is identical with that related by the synoptists, and if so, whether it is wrongly placed by the fourth evangelist. *Prima facie*, at least, they make against the latter supposition, since the year 27 A. D., which they yield for the events recorded by John, antedates by three years that of the passion history. Cf. n. 23, p. 129.

⁴ The references in this connection to Old Testament history are particularly significant. The feeding of the five thousand, reminding the people of Moses's feeding of the children of Israel and his promise that a prophet like unto himself should the Lord God raise up unto them (vs. 14; cf. Deut. 18:15), and the demand of the people for a continuous feeding which should show Jesus to be the prophet like Moses (vss. 30, 31), together with the wholly unstudied reference to these things, can hardly be accounted for save as either a very accurate report of the actual event or as coming from one who was thoroughly familiar with the Jewish scriptures and the Jewish way of interpreting them.

⁵ Cf. EDERSHEIM, *Social Life*, p. 152.

echo of Isa., chap. 53. In 1:41, 45, 49; 7:27, 41, 42; 10:24; 12:34 there are repeated reflections of the current Jewish conceptions of the Messiah. In 1:21, 25; 6:14; 7:40-43 appear similar echoes of Jewish ideas about Elijah and "the prophet;" in 4:27, of the Jewish feeling about a rabbi talking with a woman; in 4:25, 29, 42, of the Samaritan expectation of the Messiah;⁶ in 8:33, 37, of the Jewish conception of the value of Abrahamic descent; in 9:28, of the Pharisees' claim to be Moses's disciples (*cf.* Matt. 23:2); in 7:41, 52, of the prejudice of the Judeans against the Galileans; in 7:49, of the contempt of the Pharisees for the common people, the Am-haaretz; and in 9:2, of the general Jewish feeling about the cause of misfortunes.

b) The author is acquainted with the Old Testament, not only reporting the use of it, or reference to it, by Jesus and others (1:23, 29, 45, 51; 6:45, 49; 7:19, 22, 38; 8:17; 10:34 f.; 13:18; 15:25; 17:12),⁷ but, like the first evangelist, frequently quoting or referring to it himself and pointing out the fulfilment of its prophecies in the life of Jesus (2:17, 22; 12:14, 38-41; 19:24, 28, 36, 37; 20:9). These quotations, moreover, and the remarks by which he accompanies them, show clearly that he believes in the authority of the Old Testament and its divinely given prophecies. He evidently holds with Jesus that, as compared with gentiles or Samaritans, the Jews know the true way of salvation (4:22).

⁶ *Cf.* LIGHTFOOT, *Biblical Essays*, p. 154; COWLEY, in the *Expositor*, March, 1895.

⁷ It is impossible to say with certainty precisely how many of these quotations are intended to be attributed to others, and for how many the writer makes himself responsible. Quite likely some of this list should be placed in the next one. Both groups indicate the author's attitude toward the Old Testament.

c) He is, moreover, familiar with the Hebrew language, as is indicated by his use and interpretation of Hebrew names (1:38, 41, 42; 5:2; 9:7; 19:13, 17; 20:16); by the fact that some of his quotations from the Old Testament are not made from the Septuagint, but are apparently his own translation of the Hebrew (13:18; 19:37; to which may, perhaps, be added 12:40); and by the Greek in which the book is written, which is throughout Hebraistic in its style, especially in its use of non-periodic sentences, and the frequent employment of the less distinctive conjunctions.⁸

When all this evidence is taken together, it strongly tends to the conclusion that our gospel is of Jewish origin. Some of the facts are quite consistent with gentile-Christian authorship; some might be explained by the assumption of the use of Jewish sources; but the obvious meaning of them all, to be accepted unless overbalanced and set aside by counter-evidence, is that the material of the book is from the hand of a man who is of Jewish birth, and of Jewish religious background.

2. *The author's residence.*—On this matter there is a diversity of evidence.

a) He is familiar with the geography of Palestine and the topography of Jerusalem, and in particular with things as they were before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. He knows of the Bethany beyond Jordan, as dis-

⁸ See SCHLATTER, *Die Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten* (Gütersloh, 1902), whose argument, even if it includes items that are of little weight, is, as a whole, weighty. [For a collection and classification of linguistic data showing Hebraistic elements in this gospel and aimed to prove its Aramaic origin, see BURNEY, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922).]

tinguished from the Bethany near Jerusalem (1:28; cf. 11:1, 18; 12:1⁹); of Bethsaida as the city of Andrew and Peter (1:44, apparently a more accurate statement than the implication of the synoptists that they came from Capernaum; see Mark 1:21, 29); of Cana of Galilee and its relation to Capernaum (2:1, 12; 4:46, 47; Capernaum lies about 1,500 feet lower than Cana); of Ænon near to Salim¹⁰ (3:23); of Sychar, and Jacob's Well, the former of which modern exploration has identified with 'Askar, half a mile across the valley from the unquestionably identified Jacob's Well; of the Pool of Bethesda in Jerusalem, with its five porches (5:2), concerning which, again, most interesting discoveries have been made in recent times;¹¹ of the Sea of Galilee (6:1), and the location of Capernaum and Tiberias in relation to it (6:17, 24, 25); of the treasury in the temple (8:20; cf. Edersheim, *Temple*, pp. 26, 27); of the Pool of

⁹ Here, also, it is alleged by MARTINEAU (*Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 212), that the evangelist betrays ignorance. But, surely, in view of his evident discrimination of the two places, and of the recently discovered and probable evidence that there was a Bethany beyond Jordan, such an objection is feeble, if not self-refuting. SEE CONDER, art. "Bethabara" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 76; SMITH, *Historical Geography*, p. 496, n. 1. [GEDEN, art. "Bethabara" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Vol. I, pp. 192 f.]

¹⁰ On the identification of this place see W. A. STEVENS, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1883, and HENDERSON, art. "Aenon" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*; cf. art. "Salim" in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. IV, col. 4248. [MOORE, art. "Aenon" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Vol. I, p. 35.]

¹¹ See *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1888, pp. 115-34; 1890, pp. 118-20; CONDER, art. "Bethesda" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 279. [MOORE, art. "Bethesda" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Vol. I, pp. 193 ff. To the contrary, see SANDAY, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 55 ff.]

Siloam (9: 7), easily identified today with 'Ain Silwân,¹² southeast of Jerusalem, but within the limits of the wall recently discovered;¹³ of Solomon's porch (10: 23); of a city called Ephraim (11: 54), probably the Ephron of the Old Testament (see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*); of the brook Kidron (18: 1, 2; cf. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, pp. 171 ff.); of the pretorium of the procurator (18: 28), and the pavement in the pretorium (19: 13); of Golgotha, the place of crucifixion (19: 17); and of the garden in which Jesus was buried (19: 41). It is specially worthy of notice that several of these references are to places which must have been wholly destroyed or obscured in the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D., and knowledge of which could with difficulty have been possessed except by one who had lived in Palestine and been familiar with Jerusalem before 70.¹⁴

b) The same thing is indicated by the writer's apparently intimate acquaintance with the events of the procuratorship of Pilate (11: 49; 18: 12, 13, 31, 39).

c) Of like significance is his familiarity with those Jewish ideas and expectations which prevailed among the Jews of the first century, but were not shared by the Chris-

¹² See ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 333-42; *Palestine Exploration Fund, Memoirs*, volume on *Jerusalem*, pp. 345 ff.; *Quarterly Statements*, 1886, 1897; LEWIS, *Holy Places of Jerusalem*, pp. 188 ff.

¹³ MITCHELL, "The Wall of Jerusalem According to the Book of Nehemiah," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1903, pp. 85-163, especially pp. 152 ff.; BLISS, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, pp. 305 ff.

¹⁴ Cf. on the general subject of the geographical references in this gospel, FURRER in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1902, pp. 257-65, who suggests identification for all the sites named in this gospel, in a number of cases differing from those suggested above.

tians of the second century (1:21; 7:27, 40, 41; the distinction here indicated between the prophet and the Messiah was early given up by Christians, the passage in Deut. 18:15 being referred to the Messiah, as in Acts 3:22; 7:37; cf. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 25), as well as with those which, though not repudiated by the Christians, were no longer held in the precise form in which they prevailed among the Jews of the first century (1:40; 12:13; cf. *Psalms of Solomon*, 17).

d) But, on the other hand, there are indications scarcely less clear that the author no longer counts himself with the Jews, and that he has come into contact with a type of thought by which he would be much more likely to be affected outside than inside Palestine. Thus he constantly speaks of the Jews in the third person, as if they were quite distinct from himself (2:6, 13, 18; 3:1; 4:9; 5:1, 10, 15, 16; 6:41; 7:15; 8:22, etc.). This is, no doubt, in part the reflection of the fact that his position as a Christian quite overshadows his merely national character as a Jew. Yet, many of the Jewish Christians who remained in Palestine continued for some time to feel themselves as truly Jews as ever. And the constant employment of this phraseology, so much more frequent than in Matthew or Paul (Matt. 28:15; 1 Thess. 2:14, etc.), implies that the author wrote at considerable distance of place or time, or both, from his home in Palestine and his life in Judaism.

Positive indications of residence outside of Palestine and an intimation of where his home was are conveyed in the frequent use of the terms and forms of thought which prevailed in regions affected by the Jewish-Greek phi-

losophy represented by Philo Judaeus, and reflected in the opposition to it in Paul's epistle to the Colossians. Such words as "Word,"¹⁵ "only-begotten," "life," "light," "darkness," "truth," "paraclete," are common to Philo and John, though conspicuously absent from, or employed in a different way in, the synoptic vocabulary. Account must also be taken of the indescribable, but perfectly evident, air of philosophical or abstract thought, so different from the intensely practical ethics and religion of the other gospels, and allying this book with Paul's letters to the Colossians and Ephesians more closely than with any other New Testament books except the Johannine letters. By this is not meant that the fourth gospel is more like Philo than it is like the other gospels. On the contrary, the resemblance to Philo is accompanied by even more marked differences, and the resemblances between John and the synoptic gospels in real spirit and

¹⁵ The basis of this usage is, of course, to be found in the Old Testament, remotely perhaps in such passages as Gen. 1:3, and more directly in such as Pss. 33:6; 107:20; 147:15; 148:5; Isa. 55:11. Some writers—Westcott, Godet, Reynolds, *et al.*—think that John's usage is derived directly from the Old Testament. But Siegfried, Sanday, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Harnack, Wendt, *et al.*, hold—and rightly, it would seem, in view of the evidence—that, while the author of the gospel does not hold the doctrine of Philo, his usage of the term reflects the influence of the type of thought seen in Philo. [The probability of a direct connection between the Johannine Logos idea and Hellenistic religious philosophy in the immediate Ephesian environment of the gospel writer has scarcely received the attention that it merits. See ROBINSON, *The Gospel of John*, pp. 57 ff.]

Dr. Rendel Harris advances the interesting hypothesis—ingenious rather than convincing—that the Logos concept "is a substitute for a previously existing Sophia." This makes the prologue a hymn in honor of wisdom and derives it from the Jewish wisdom literature. See HARRIS, *The Prologue to St. John's Gospel* (1916).]

doctrine are far closer than any between John and Philo. The influence to which the writer of the fourth gospel has been subjected is one of atmosphere, affecting his style and vocabulary, but leaving his doctrine essentially unchanged. As Paul in Colossians joins a translation of his thought into the terms of so-called philosophy with out-and-out opposition to the errors of that philosophy, so the fourth evangelist apparently avails himself of a vocabulary which is acquired rather than native to him, without thereby accepting the doctrines commonly associated with this vocabulary.¹⁶

These two antithetical lines of evidence lead us to think of the author as one who had lived in Palestine in the first part of the first century, but who, before he wrote this book, had been for some time in non-Jewish lands, and in an intellectual atmosphere largely affected by the Alexandrian or Judeo-Hellenic type of thought; or else point to some form of double authorship. The simpler explanation is, however, to be preferred, and is apparently adequate to account for the facts we have thus far examined. The theory of divided authorship is not excluded,

¹⁶ [Some impression of the extent to which the fourth gospel reflects the religio-philosophical interests of its Hellenistic environment may be secured from the following works: ELY, *Knowledge of God in Johannine Thought* (1925); GRILL, *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums* (II Teil, 1923); ROBINSON, *The Gospel of John* (1925); SCOTT, Art., "The Hellenistic Mysticism of the Fourth Gospel," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 20, pp. 345-359, July, 1916; WETTER, *Der Sohn Gottes* (1916). Prof. Grill's latest volume on the fourth gospel is particularly important as a thorough-going interpretation of the book from the standpoint of contemporary religious thought and experience. The sub-title of Prof. Grill's volume classifies the gospel of John as "the mystery gospel of the Hellenized Christianity of Asia Minor."]

but it must be sustained by further evidence before it can demand acceptance:

3. *His religious position.*— That the author, though a Jew in nationality and one who had been somewhat affected by Hellenistic philosophy, was yet above everything else a Christian is so evident throughout the book as to call for no detailed proof. The prologue (1: 1-18), the writer's statement of his purpose in writing (20: 30, 31), and indeed every paragraph of the gospel (see, *e. g.*, 3: 16-21; 31-36; 12: 35-43), is penetrated with a conception of Jesus and of the significance of his life and work which is possible only to a Christian.

With this result we might for our present purpose be content, since, though the writer is not by this evidence personally identified, the knowledge of the author which we most need to assist us in the interpretation of the book is not his name, but his historical situation. Knowing this, it is of less moment that we should identify him individually. Yet, even his name is not without its helpfulness in the interpretation of the book; and, as an appendix at least to the evidence which the book itself furnishes in its disclosures of its author's characteristics and point of view, it will be well to consider briefly the external testimonies to his personal identity.

4. *Statements of ancient writers concerning the authorship of the book.*

The first clearly external testimony is that of 21: 24 of the gospel:

This is the disciple who beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true.

Chap. 21 is clearly an appendix to the gospel added to it after it had once been completed at the end of the twentieth chapter (*cf.* vi, "Plan of the Gospel"). The chapter as a whole is by no means certainly of different authorship from the rest of the gospel. But vs. 24 is by its very terms not a statement of the author respecting himself, but the testimony of others affirming who he is. Though imbedded in the gospel itself as we now possess it, having been inserted when the rest of the chapter was added or perhaps even later, it is strictly speaking external testimony, not internal evidence. Who is the author or authors of this testimony, or when it was added to the gospel cannot be definitely stated.¹⁷ In all documentary evidence, even the oldest, the gospel contains the twenty-first chapter including this verse.

The testimony of this verse is apparently to the effect that the gospel is from the hand of an eyewitness of the events; that he was one of seven, five of whom are named and are of the Twelve (21:2); and more specifically, that he was the disciple whom Jesus loved, who leaned on Jesus' bosom at the supper (21:20, 24).¹⁸ Not even here, however, is the writer spoken of by name. The

¹⁷ [Particularly worthy of note, however, is the theory of Prof. B. W. Bacon that the appendix was added about the middle of the second century at the time of a Roman revision of the fourth gospel, the purpose of the appendix being to secure for the gospel "the apostolic authority of John without detriment to the dominant authority of Peter." See *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, pp. 210-225.]

¹⁸ [This is not, however, the only possible interpretation of the literary phenomena in question. A strong case can be made for considering the "disciple whom Jesus loved" an ideal rather than a real person — in fact the typical or ideal disciple. See BACON, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, pp. 301-331, and JACKSON, *The Problem of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 151-170.]

gospel itself, even including the editorial statement of the twenty-first chapter, remains strictly anonymous. For the name of the author to whom antiquity ascribed this gospel we must look to still later testimony.

Definite testimony that the fourth gospel is by the hand of a certain John comes to us not earlier than from the third quarter of the second century.¹⁹ The following are some of the earliest and most striking passages in which the gospel is ascribed to John:

Whence also the Holy Scriptures and all those who bear the spirit teach us, of whom John (being one) says: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, pointing out that at first only God was, and in him the Word. Then, he says, And the Word was God, through him all things were made and without him nothing was made. (THEOPHILUS, *Ad. Autolycum*, II, 22.)

Irenæus, having previously spoken of the three gospels and their authors proceeds:

Afterwards John the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, did himself publish a gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia. (*Adv. Haer.*, iii, 1.)

In another passage he says:

John the disciple of the Lord . . . thus commenced his teaching in the gospel: In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, etc. (*Adv. Haer.*, iii, 11.)²⁰

¹⁹ Evidence for the existence of the gospel is much earlier, quite clearly as early as 130 A. D. But it is beyond the purpose of this book to discuss the complicated problem of the external evidence.

²⁰ [Irenæus has long been cited as the chief traditional witness for the apostolic authorship of the fourth gospel, and he is thought to have confused the apostle John with an elder of the same name. It is not certain, however, that this confusion existed in the mind of Irenæus or that he credited this gospel to the apostle John. For an analysis of the testimony of Irenæus, see BURNEY, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth*

II. INDICATIONS OF EDITORIAL WORK IN THE GOSPEL

1. Reference has already been made to the clear indication that 21:24 is from the hand of persons who defi-

Gospel, pp. 138-42. Cf. LEWIS, *The Irenæus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel* (1908).

From the beginning of the third century to our own day dominant ecclesiastical tradition has attributed the fourth gospel to the apostle John. Squarely opposed to this tradition of Ephesian residence and gospel authorship by John the apostle is another ancient tradition, resting on the authority of Papias, to the effect that the apostle John did not live to a great old age at Ephesus, but like his brother James died a martyr's death at the hands of his fellow-countrymen in Jerusalem. The De Boor fragment and the quotation of Georgius Hamartolus make it indubitable that Papias spoke of the early martyrdom of the apostle John. This statement is corroborated by the synoptic record of Jesus' declaration that John and James would both drink the cup of martyrdom like himself (Mark 10:39; Matt. 20:23) and further confirmation is added by the lists of martyrs in various ancient church calendars, wherein James and John are commemorated together. Regarding this tradition, see SCHWARTZ, *Tod der Söhne Zebedaei*; BACON, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*; pp. 127-54; JACKSON, *The Problem of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 142-50.

Another strong count against the traditional theory of apostolic authorship is the pronouncedly Hellenistic character of the gospel itself in language and thought content. The son of Zebedee was a Galilean; but the ideas expressed and the presuppositions involved in the fourth gospel are those of a Hellenistic rather than of a Galilean or Palestinian thought world. This writer knows Stoicism, and Alexandrian philosophy, and Hellenistic mysticism, and employs them to advantage in his work. Furthermore, he knows the synoptic gospels and the letters of Paul, and makes use of them as the apostle John, writing on his own authority, would scarcely have done. Also the general spirit of the book, and its predilection for theological and symbolic presentation, do not accord at all with what the synoptists and Paul tell us about the fiery, ambitious, intolerant "son of thunder," who was ready to call fire down from heaven to destroy inhospitable Samaritan villagers (Luke 9:51-56) and for himself desired one of the chief places in the kingdom (Mark 10:

nitely distinguish themselves from the reputed author of the book and stand as sponsors to the readers for his trustworthiness. There is a possibility that 19:35 is of the

35 ff., cf Mark 3:17; Gal. 2:1-10). The apostle John, so far as we know him, was not the kind of man who would write such a book as the fourth gospel.

These and kindred considerations have led critical scholars to abandon definitely the traditional theory of Johannine authorship. The gospel is now generally viewed as the product of early second-century Christianity and of the Ephesian school of thought. Neglecting as hazardous any attempt to identify the author definitely or by name, many scholars regard him, not at all as an eyewitness historian, but rather as a Hellenist of deep religious experience and profound convictions, who sought to interpret in Greek vocabulary the religious significance of Jesus for men of his own day and environment. That valuable historical materials may have been employed by this writer is not denied; and these may well go back to the immediate circle of Jesus' disciples. But they are difficult to isolate, and the chief importance of the work lies in its character as a reinterpretation of Jesus' significance in the religio-philosophical terminology of Greek thought. This general position is maintained in the following works: BACON, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* (1910); MOFFATT, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (1922); SCHMIEDEL, *The Johannine Writings* (1908); SCOTT, *The Historical and Religious Value of the Fourth Gospel* (1909); SCOTT, *The Fourth Gospel, Its Purpose and Theology* (1908).

The apparent deadlock that long existed between this school of criticism and the champions of apostolic authorship has been broken of late by scholars of mediating tendency who seek to identify the author of the fourth gospel more closely and to connect him more directly with the events narrated in the gospel. They see in the evangelist a young disciple of the apostle John or Jesus who, late in life and at Ephesus, composed this gospel as his interpretation of Jesus, on the basis of his own experience and recollections, or on the authority of John the apostle. Their inclination is to identify this disciple with the elder John, whom Papias designated as "a disciple of the Lord." Thus the eyewitness touches in the fourth gospel are accounted for on the basis of discipleship, and the Johannine tradition is explained by a nat-

same character.²¹ The former clearly, the latter possibly, shows a hand other than that of the author of the material contained in the book.

ural confusion of the apostle John with a presbyter of the same name. Not always, however, is justice done to the late date and obviously Hellenistic character of the gospel. This position is supported in general by BURKITT, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission* (1921); BURNEY, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922); GARDNER, *The Ephesian Gospel* (1916); ROBINSON, *The Gospel of John* (1925); STANTON, *The Gospels as Historical Documents* (1920); STREETER, *The Four Gospels* (1925).

Dr. Burton's final conviction concerning the authorship of the fourth gospel would place him in the former of the two schools of criticism characterized above. As a result of his last seminar on Johannine introduction, he noted the following conclusions which indicate the trend of his thinking during the last decade of his life:

"This study confirms my former conclusion that the writer of the book was a Jew who resided in Palestine long enough to be well acquainted with localities, government, Jewish ideas, etc. . . . His acquaintance with the Old Testament any Christian might have. But his knowledge of Hebrew makes it as good as certain that he was born a Jew. His acquaintance with Palestinian conditions before 70 A. D. implies that he lived in Palestine before that date. On the other hand, the strong Greek strain in the book implies also a long residence outside of Palestine. Where or exactly when he was born we cannot say. The conditions would be met by the supposition that whether born in Palestine or out of it, he was born of Hebrew family, lived in Palestine some time before 70, but left it before that date. He could hardly have been born before 30 A. D., if as is commonly held his book was not written until about 100 to 110."]

²¹ Probably not, however, in any case from the same hand. The third person and the present tense in 19:35, "he knoweth that he saith true," imply that the witness is still living; while the past tense in 21:24, "that wrote these things," and the use of the first person in the statement, "we know that his witness is true," suggest that the witness is no longer living.

2. The use of the title, "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (19:26; 21:20), for the supposed author of the book points, at least slightly, in the same direction. That the author, writing with his own pen or by dictation a book whose authorship was to be no secret, should refer to himself as "the disciple whom Jesus loved," is an improbable immodesty, strangely at variance with the modesty which on this supposition led him never to mention himself by name.

3. In several particulars this gospel gives a different representation of facts connected with the life of Jesus from that which the synoptic gospels present. Thus John the Baptist's characterization of Jesus as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" is so wholly different from his prediction, recorded in Matthew and Luke, of the Greater One coming for swift and irremediable judgment that it cannot but lead us to suppose that the idea expressed by the Baptist was modified in this expression of it. Again, the representation of this gospel concerning the announcement of Jesus' messiahship is sufficiently different from that of the synoptic gospels to raise the question whether there has not been in this matter much transformation of the material, a projection backward into the early portion of Jesus' ministry of what really belongs to the latter part, or a substitution for one another of terms which, when the gospel was written, had long been looked upon as practically synonymous, but which when Jesus lived had not yet become so. The difficulties at this point have often been exaggerated, especially in respect to the confession of Nathanael,²² but

²² Cf. the very useful discussion of this matter by PROFESSOR RHEES in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1898, pp. 21 ff.

it remains true that there are differences which demand explanation and suggest a process of editorial reinterpretation. (Cf. John 3:28; 4:26, with Matt. 16:13-18.) In minor matters, also, there is an occasional editorial remark for which it is difficult to account. See, *e. g.*, 4:44, which by its position seems to imply that Judea was Jesus' own country, though, indeed, this is not the only possible interpretation of it.²³ The following passages, to which still others, chiefly portions of a verse, might be added, are also of the nature of interpretative comment on the narrative, some of them undoubtedly from the hand of the author, others probably added by an editor: 2:11, 21, 22, 25; 4:2, 9, 44; 6:64^b, 71; 11:51, 52; 12:14^b-16, 33; 18:32; 19:24, 35, 36, 37.

4. The style of the gospel is uniform throughout, alike in narrative, discourse of Jesus, discourse of John the Baptist and prologue or comment of the evangelist. Whose style is this? Is it the style of the author, or that of the men whose hand appears in the "we know" of 21:24? From the gospel itself we could perhaps hardly answer the question. But a comparison of the book, on the one hand, with the first epistle of John, on the other, seems to point the way to an answer. In 1 John we have a letter which, though it uses the pronoun "we" in the first

²⁶ It is a tempting suggestion that the last clause of 18:28, which implies that the passover had not yet been eaten, whereas the synoptists clearly put the passover on the preceding night, is an editorial comment the discrepancy of which with the chronology of the synoptic narrative is due to the editor's ignorance of the exact facts. But the evidence tends rather to the conclusion that, whether these words are from author or editor, they are at least in harmony with the facts respecting the relation of Jesus' death to the celebration of the Jewish passover. See BRIGGS, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 56 ff.

paragraph, as Paul also frequently does, because he includes in his thought other persons than himself of whom his statement is true,²⁴ yet is evidently the letter of one person (2:1, 12; 5:13, etc.). Quite clearly an author, not a board of editors, produced 1 John. Now, the vocabulary, doctrine, and style of this letter are very similar to that of the fourth gospel, including also chap. 21. The obvious inference from these facts is that the gospel throughout — not necessarily every word, but in the main — and the epistle are in subject-matter and style from one hand.

It follows that the style is not that of editors who published the gospel, but rather it is the style of the evangelist who composed both the gospel and the epistle. From this again follow two conclusions: First, the evangelist is not simply in a remote sense the source of the facts, which the editors have wholly worked over into their style, but he is in a true sense the author of the gospel, the one who, as the authors of 21:24 say, "wrote these things." Second, in view of the uniformity of the style of this book, covering the discourses of Jesus as well as the rest and in view of its identity with that of 1 John, there is no room to doubt that the author has thoroughly worked over into his own style whatever sources he may have employed (*cf.* III, "Composition of the Gospel").

5. There are numerous indications that the arrangement of the material of which this book is composed is not wholly from the hand of the author himself. These

²⁴It is not meant that Paul's "we" always has this force; it is probably sometimes used simply for "I." See DICK, *Die Schriftstellerische Plural bei Paulus* (Halle, 1900); *cf.* LIGHTFOOT, *Notes on Epistles of Paul*, p. 22. This is perhaps also the case in 1 John.

apparent displacements attracted attention long ago,²⁵ and of recent years have been the subject of careful study. Among the most obvious of them is the position of 7: 15-24. This is manifestly connected in thought with chap. 5. The Jews apparently take up in 7: 15 a statement of Jesus in 5: 47, and the whole paragraph 15-24 unquestionably carries forward the controversy related in chap. 5. But as the material now stands, months of time and an extended absence of Jesus from Jerusalem fall between the two parts of this continuous conversation. The attachment of these verses to the end of chap. 5 gives them a far more natural and probable position. Independently of this case, 6: 1 and 7: 1 present an obvious chronological difficulty. In 6: 1 Jesus goes away to the other side of the Sea of Galilee, though chap. 5 leaves him not in Galilee at all, but in Jerusalem. And 7: 1 states that after these things Jesus walked in Galilee, for he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him; though in chap. 6 he was already in Galilee. The transposition of chaps. 5 and 6 would give a far more intelligible order of events. Even the latter part of chap. 7 would read much more smoothly if vss. 45-52 stood between 36 and 37, thus making the officers return the same day that they were sent, rather than, as it now stands, several days later, as well as yielding in other respects a more probable order of thought. Combining these suggestions, we should arrange these chapters in this order (after chap. 4, which leaves him in Galilee): 6: 1-71; 5: 1-47; 7: 15-24; 7: 1-13, 25-36, 45-52, 37-44.

²⁵ Some of them are spoken of in a work of the fourteenth century: LUDOLPHUS DE SAXONIA, *Vita Christi*, referred to by J. P. NORRIS, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. III (1871), pp. 107 ff.

That 7: 53—8: 11 is from some outside source is generally admitted, being established by external testimony as well as by internal evidence. The insertion of this passage is, of course, not editorial transposition, but scribal interpolation.²⁶

The difficulties of arrangement in chaps. 13-16 have long been noticed, and one of them, the interposition of the long discourse of chaps. 15-16 after the words, "Arise, let us go hence," in 14: 31, is obvious to the most casual reader. Others have been observed by more attentive students, such as the evidence in 14: 25-31, especially in 27, "Peace I leave with you," that these are intended to be the closing words of the discourse; and that 16: 5 can scarcely have been spoken after the question of 14: 5, but would itself naturally give rise to that question. These difficulties are greatly relieved by supposing chaps. 15, 16

²⁶ If, on the basis of the clearer cases mentioned above, it should be established that the material of the gospel has suffered displacement, then it would be reasonable to interpret the less clear indications in chaps. 8-10 as showing that here also there has been some disarrangement. Thus chap. 8 (omitting vss. 1-11) begins without narrative introduction with the words, "Again, therefore, Jesus spake to them," as if this were a continuation of the discourse in chap. 7. But the theme of 8: 12 ff. is Jesus as the Light of the World, which is suggested by nothing in the preceding chapter, and is clearly related to chap. 9. The paragraphs 10: 19-21 and 10: 22-29 also occupy a position difficult to account for. A rearrangement of this material that will at once commend itself as the original arrangement can hardly be offered. But the following is possible: 7: 37-44; 8: 21-59, the discourse of Jesus on the last day of the feast, discussing the question already raised in 7: 25-36, whence he is, whither he goes, and who he is; 9: 1-41; 10: 19-21; 8: 12-20, on the theme Jesus the Light of the World; 10: 22-29, 1-18, 30-42, a chapter on the one theme: Jesus the good Shepherd, and his relation to the Father, having the typical structure of a Johannine chapter, viz., narrative introduction, discourse of Jesus, discussion with the Jews, narrative conclusion.

to have stood originally either after the words "Jesus saith," in 13:31, or after 13:20. It has been further pointed out that the recognized difficulties in 18:12-28 are considerably relieved by supposing that vss. 19-24 belong properly after vs. 13, the beginning of vs. 25 being a repetition of the end of vs. 18. The order of the Sinaitic manuscript of the Syraic Version (verses 12, 13, 24, 14, 15, 19-23, 16-18, 25-31), suggests either that the present order was not the original, or that the difficulty of the present order made itself felt very early.

Spitta accounted for these transpositions on the theory that the book was originally written on papyrus sheets, each containing approximately eighteen and one-half lines of the length of those of the Westcott and Hort text, or about eight hundred Greek letters, and that by pure accident some of these sheets were displaced and then copied as transposed. It is certainly remarkable how many of the pieces which are out of place are either about eight hundred letters long or multiples of this number.²⁷ Professor Bacon, recognizing in large part the same displacements, thinks they are the result of editorial arrangement.²⁸ Without undertaking to decide which, if either, of these two theories is correct — neither one of them seems to account for all the facts — or whether all the alleged displacements are really such, we are constrained

²⁷ See SPITTA, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Urchristentums*, Vol. I, pp. 157-204.

²⁸ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1894, pp. 64-76; cf. also his article "Tatian's Rearrangement of the Fourth Gospel," in *American Journal of Theology*, 1900, pp. 770-95, in which he endeavors to show that Tatian had a gospel differently arranged from our present gospel. In criticism of this latter article see HOBSON, *The Synoptic Problem in the Light of the Diatessaron of Tatian* (Chicago, 1904).

to admit that the evidence of some displacement is almost irresistible. But, if so, then it follows that some other hand has been at work upon the gospel than that of the original author.

If now we attempt to combine and interpret all this evidence, it seems to point to the following conclusion: Parts of the narrative of the life and discourses of Jesus may proceed from the circle of his disciples. But whatever the ultimate sources of this gospel (*cf.* III, "Composition of the Gospel") the material as a whole has been melted and recast in the mind of the author. Lapse of time, change of surroundings, contact with a new type of thought, desire to make Jesus and his teaching intelligible to the men with whom, now at the beginning of the second century, the evangelist has to deal, have all operated to make the book, not merely a narrative of the life of Jesus, but a series of historical sermons shaped to meet the needs of living readers. In its spirit the book is far more the work of a preacher seeking to develop spiritual life, than of an historian seeking to produce an accurate record of past events. The gospel as we possess it shows the hand of an editor or editors in various comments, and the hand of a careless copyist or binder in the disarrangement of its material. The precise extent of the editorial work, and the exact nature of the causes which have given the book its present form, are as yet unsolved problems. But the evidence seems to show that the bulk of the material exists in the form which the author gave it, even the style being his.

These facts indicate that the book is mainly from one hand, but they imply that we may expect to find evidences

of at least four influences at work: first, the actual deeds and words of Jesus; second, the writing down of primitive Christian tradition regarding him; third, the evangelist melting over and recasting these sources in his own mind, and adding comment or summary (2:17, 21, 22; 6:6, 59, 64b, 65, 71; 7:5, 39; 8:20, 27, 30; 10:6; 11:13, 51, 52; 12:6, 33, 38-43); fourth, the work of an editor or editors in the preparation of the book for publication, and also the blundering work of a copyist or binder.

III. THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOSPEL ²⁹

In an article published in the *Zeitschrift für die Newtestamentliche Wissenschaft* for 1915,³⁰ Wilhelm Soltau, following up some previous articles of his in other journals, discusses the problem of the fourth gospel and the way to its solution.

He lays down the principle that the solution of the Johannine problem must begin with the study of the passages in it to which there are synoptic parallels. This is manifestly a sound principle. It is simply the application

²⁹ [During his last years of teaching Dr. Burton approached the problem of the fourth gospel from a different point of view and with another technique than the one he had hitherto employed. He applied to this gospel the method of source criticism that he had already utilized with such conspicuous success in the case of the synoptic gospels. It seemed to him that a careful literary analysis of the fourth gospel showed clearly the method of its composition and had important bearing on the question of authorship as well. His analysis of the gospel, the principles on which he worked, and the conclusions to which his study led him were tersely summarized in a paper read before the Chicago Society for Biblical Research, but never published. Later this material was used as the basis for a seminar. Section iii reproduces the paper presented to the Chicago Society.]

³⁰ "Das Problem des Johannesevangeliums und der Weg zu seiner Lösung," *ZNTW* (1915), Doppelheft 1-2, pp. 24-53.

to this particular problem of the general principle that in matters of this sort one must proceed from the known to the unknown. But it is of special importance in the present case because in the modifications which the writer makes of his synoptic sources we are certain to be able to discover valuable facts with reference to the author's point of view and purpose. A second principle equally sound, though not especially emphasized by Soltau, is that the obviously editorial remarks — the passages in which the writer is manifestly adding to material derived from his sources comments in which he expresses his own opinion — are of capital importance for the discovery of the author's point of view, habitat, and personality.

The data gathered from these two lines of study may reasonably be expected to furnish a scientifically determined base-line from which the rest of the gospel may be studied and, possibly at least, a clue to the solution of the whole problem.

But the study of the narratives based upon the synoptists leads, of course, to the recognition of the fact that there are in the gospel certain other narratives not so derived, which suggests, if it does not prove, the existence of a second narrative source unused by the synoptists, but treated by the author of the fourth gospel in much the same way in which he has dealt with the synoptic narratives. To this class belong the story of the first miracle at Cana, the conversations with Nicodemus and the woman of Samaria, the story of the Greeks who would see Jesus, and some of the incidents of the passion week and resurrection.

When these two narrative elements in their re-edited

form are enucleated, there remains a body of discourse material, dialogue, and comment constituting not far from one-half of the gospel. This discourse material consists of four distinguishable elements:

1. Expository discourse, strictly so-called dealing almost wholly with the mission and claims of Jesus. In the early sections of this discourse Jesus is spoken of in the third person, and there is no indication who the speaker is. In the latter and larger portion of it, the first person is used and Jesus is himself the speaker. This includes the prologue (with the exception of the remarks about John the Baptist), the words about Jesus being lifted up and sent into the world (3:13-25; 3:31-36; 5:19-30), concerning Jesus as life-giver and judge (7:16-18), a large part of the discourse on the Bread of Life (6:32-63 *passim*, 8:31, 32, 34-36), the similitude of the Good Shepherd and the Door (10:1-5, 7-18), the sayings about Jesus as the Light of the World (12:46-50), and the farewell discourses.

2. Passages of a controversial character, evidently opposing what are regarded as excessive claims for John the Baptist. These passages constitute a distinct and easily recognizable element in the early chapters of the gospel.

3. Passages of a denunciatory character, in which Jesus is represented as sharply criticizing the Jews. These stand out with almost equal clearness.

4. Dialogues, partly between Jesus and the Jews, partly between Jesus and his disciples, the former often closely connected with the denunciatory passages, which

again are a distinct element of the discourses as they stand, and an interruption of the course of thought.

A further study of these elements of the discourse material shows, however, that the three latter elements are after all so cognate in character as to give no occasion for the suggestion that they are of diverse origin, but rather to suggest that they are all from one hand.

Not less significant is the fact that they are discovered to be also kindred in point of view and general character with the editorial elements of the narratives based on the synoptists and with those elements of the non-synoptic narratives which, because of their similarity to the editorial elements of the synoptic narratives, are themselves shown to be additions of the editor rather than derived from his second narrative source.

A third fact respecting these three latter elements of the discourse material is that the elimination of them practically without exception leaves a better connection, and sometimes a strikingly better one, than exists when they are retained in their present position.

A fourth fact of importance is that the elimination of these interrupting elements of the discourse and of the narratives, both synoptic and non-synoptic, leaves a straightaway body of discourse of strikingly uniform and consistent character. Its point of view is that of the Christianity of the end of the first century or beginning of the second, largely influenced by Greek thought—in short, in our common terminology, Ephesian. The consistency of this discourse becomes only the more obvious when, accepting the now almost universally recognized fact that the gospel has undergone considerable transposi-

tion since being put into what might otherwise be regarded as its final form, we restore the whole gospel to what there is reason to regard as its original order.

If now, recalling our second fundamental principle, we turn to the editorial remarks of the gospel, we discover that they fall into three classes: (*a*) remarks of a geographical and historical character; (*b*) remarks about the "signs," depreciatory of faith based on them; and (*c*) remarks implying that "signs" are the normal basis of faith.

The first group of these editorial notes clearly indicates an author who was familiar with Palestinian and Jewish affairs before the year 70 A. D. Careful study shows that the second are in harmony with the point of view of the narratives, both synoptic and non-synoptic. They are, moreover, in harmony with the additions to the discourse, which, as already pointed out, are themselves most reasonably ascribed to a single hand. If, therefore, we predicate, as the evidence seems to require us to do, the use of three sources by this gospel, viz., the synoptic narratives, the non-synoptic narratives, and the long Christological discourse, all the material of the gospel not derived from these sources may reasonably be ascribed to one hand, with the exception of the editorial remarks of the third class. These remarks plainly contradict the point of view of all the rest of the gospel. They so clearly imply that faith should be based on the "signs," as against the view that a sign-based faith is untrustworthy, that it is practically impossible to suppose that any writer, however unclear in his thinking, could be responsible for both the second and the third groups of

editorial remarks. Moreover, they are almost without exception easily detachable from their context, their absence giving a better connection than their presence.

These facts practically demonstrate the following conclusions about the fourth gospel:

1. This gospel is, with the exception of a comparatively few editorial remarks the work of one author.

2. This author was a Jew, well acquainted with Palestine and Jewish affairs as these existed before 70 A. D. and probably from 30 to 70 A. D.

3. This author had at his command three sources:

- a) The synoptic gospels.
- b) A second narrative source, or group of sources, some of which were apparently in no way inferior in historical value to the synoptists.
- c) A Christological essay, which at the beginning speaks of Jesus in third person, but continues in the form of words of Jesus, presenting that conception of him which had been developed by Greek Christianity at the beginning of the second century.

4. The first of these he edited in the spirit of a theologian rather than of a historian, in order through them to convey his convictions respecting Jesus and his religious significance. His editorial work varies all the way from a handling scarcely more free than Luke's use of Mark, for example, to the construction of narratives of which the kernel only was taken over from the synoptists. How freely he handled his second source, we can judge mainly only by analogy.

5. To his discourse source, he added:

- a) The controversial passages opposing the excessive claims of John's disciples for him.
- b) The passages denunciatory of the Jews.

- c) The dialogues imbedded in the discourses.
- d) Occasional other notes, largely of a geographical and historical character.

6. For the determination of the order of his gospel, he made the discourse source basal. He apparently reproduces it in precisely the order in which it stood. The discourse is not broken up amid the narratives, but the narratives are interposed into the discourse. For the original position of the narratives he had no concern; yet for artistic purposes he fitted the combined narratives and discourses into a chronological framework based on the feast cycle of the Jewish calendar.

7. To the gospel as thus constructed, a later hand added the remarks which imply that signs are the proper basis of faith. Chap. 20: 30 f., "Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, ye may have life in his name," is not as it stands the work of the author, nor does it represent the point of view of the gospel. It would represent it if we should omit the word "signs" or for it should substitute the word "works."

8. A still later, but yet very early hand, working quite unintelligently and without definite purpose, possibly only a bookbinder, disarranged the sheets of the gospel with the result of considerably disturbing its original order, and this disarranged copy became the parent of all extant manuscripts.³¹

³¹ [Among the papers of Dr. Burton were found the following:]

NOTES ON CONCLUDING THE SEMINAR ON JOHN

1. The general method is right, especially beginning with an analy-

IV. THE READERS FOR WHOM THE GOSPEL WAS INTENDED

Internal evidence tends to show that the readers for whom the fourth gospel was primarily written and published were not Jews, but gentiles. A Christian writer writing for Christian Jews might, indeed, occasionally speak of "the Jews" as this gospel does (*cf.* Matt. 28: 15), but a Jewish writer writing for Jews, even for Christian Jews, is not likely to have felt his and their distinctness from the Jewish nation so strongly as to have used this form of expression with the frequency with which it occurs in this gospel. The explanation of Hebrew terms when they occur (1: 41, 42; 4: 25; 19: 13, 17; 20: 16), and the manner of referring to Jewish customs and sentiments (2: 6; 4: 9; 7: 2; 19: 40), point in the same direction. This evidence does not exclude Jewish readers, but it certainly tends to show that the readers were not wholly, or even chiefly, Jews. To this must be added the statement of 20: 31, which by its use of the words "believe" and "have" in the present tense denoting action in progress and most naturally referring to the continuance of action already in progress implies that the readers are Christians in whom the writer desires not to

sis of the book on the basis of no theory, then studying the synoptic narratives, then the non-synoptic, then the discourse material.

2. Further study is needed to determine the method of the author in his narrative portions. . . .

3. Further study is called for on the phraseology of the gospel. This ought to be done exhaustively and decisions reached as to the content of the discourse document on the basis of this evidence. . . .

4. The class raised some question about the fundamental elements of the theory. . . . The result, however, was to convince me again, and I think them also, that the theory as a whole is sound. It needs more work on detail. . . . (See facsimile, p. 143.)

Notes on Concluding the *Temperament* on John
Dec 1920

1. The general method is right, especially beginning with a general analysis of the book on the basis of its theory, then studying the synoptic narratives, then the non-synoptic then the doctrinal material.
2. Further study is needed to determine the method of the author in his narrative portions. Which narratives really have non-synoptic stories at the bottom of them? How farly did the author proceed with synoptic material? ^{for} the blind man Chap. 9. and begins, Chap 11, synoptic narrative? Are there really any non-synoptic narratives, or are all the narratives based on ~~some~~ ^{some} a synoptic narrative or at least kind of the synoptists?
3. Further study is called for at the phrase stage of the gospel, along the line begun this year. The right to hold down ~~exhaustively~~ ^{exhaustively} and decisions reached as to the content of the disc. doc. on the basis of the evidence. In particular the new birth (1:12; 3:6) should be considered, and flesh & spirit (1:12; 3:16; 6:63). Does the evidence perhaps suggest that there is a disc. element in 3:1-12? Or is this a case of ~~the~~ a disc. phrase being taken over by the editor?
4. The class raised some question about the fundamental elements of the theory - esp. Rooda & Melonghy. The result however, was to convince me again & I think there also that the theory as a whole is sound. It need now work out ^{in detail} ~~the~~ ^{the} these three (first) sources, and author (editor) who did not write the disc. + on the ground that -

FINAL RECORD OF DR. BURTON'S JOHANNINE THEORY

(Notes outlining further investigation in the source criticism of the fourth gospel)

beget faith, but to nourish and confirm a faith that already exists. The book seems, therefore, to have been intended chiefly for gentile Christians.

V. THE PURPOSE WITH WHICH THE EVANGELIST WROTE

But what did it aim to accomplish for these Christians? The verse just referred to contains an explicit statement of aim, viz., by the narration of facts respecting the life of Jesus to lead men (presumably already believers) to believe (*i. e.*, continue to believe) that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, to the end that thus believing they may (continue to) have life in his name.³² Doubtless it would be an over-pressing of the force of the tenses in this sentence to insist that the book was written solely for the maintenance of existing faith against adversaries; but that this was a part of its purpose is certainly more than hinted. If, then, we turn back to the prologue, 1: 1-18, in which we may naturally expect to discover an indication of the purpose of the book, three things attract our attention. First, the term "Word" is here employed in a

³² The theory already suggested respecting the method of composition of this book raises the question whether 20: 30, 31 is from the hand of the author, being intended by him as the conclusion of this particular section of his gospel (chaps. 18-20), or from the hand of the editors, and intended as the conclusion of the whole work. It is an objection to the former supposition that in chaps. 18-20 "signs," in the sense of the word in this gospel, are by no means prominent; indeed, there are none in the usual sense of the term. It is against both this supposition and the view that the author wrote these words as a conclusion of the work as a whole, that the gospel itself does not put upon the signs quite the emphasis which this verse seems to give them (*cf.* 2: 23-25; 3: 1-3). It is, therefore, most probable that these verses are from the editors, though it may well be that, except in the use of the word "sign," they have correctly expressed the purpose which the evangelist had in view in writing the book which they have here published.

peculiar way, not paralleled in the other portions of the gospel or in the first epistle of John,³³ and yet introduced as if it were familiar to those who would read the book.³⁴ The purpose of the writer in the prologue is evidently not to introduce to readers hitherto unacquainted with them either the conception of the "Word" as the expression and revelation of God, or the person Jesus Christ, but rather to predicate the former of the latter. These facts indicate that the writer desires to avail himself of a conception native to the thought of his readers in order to set forth in words familiar to them the doctrine he wishes to teach, viz., the uniqueness, finality, and all-sufficiency of the revelation of God made in the person of Jesus Christ. In other words, he translates into a current vocabulary and mode of thought his own thought about Jesus, in order by such translation to render this thought more intelligible and more acceptable. This reminds us of the evidence afforded by the letter of Paul to the Colossians,

³³ The use of the phrase "Word of life" in 1 John 1:1 (the "prologue" of the epistle) is approximately parallel, and in view of the usage of the prologue of the gospel is probably to be traced to the same influence; yet it is only approximately parallel, involving by no means so clear a hypostatizing of the Word as that of John 1:1 ff. The mode of speech of the letter even is doubtless an acquired one, but it has apparently become a natural one for the author. This can hardly be said of the phraseology of the prologue of the gospel.

[The discussions of E. F. Scott are particularly illuminating for an understanding of the Logos concept itself and of the relation of the prologue to the rest of the gospel. See SCOTT, *The Fourth Gospel, Its Purpose and Theology*, pp. 145-175, and *The Historical and Religious Value of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 33-40. Cf. also ROBINSON, *The Gospel of John*, pp. 57-65, and STANTON, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part III, pp. 161-186.]

³⁴ See HARNACK, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. II, pp. 189-231; WENDT, *The Gospel According to John*, pp. 223-34.

and in a less degree by Ephesians, that the gentile Christianity of Asia Minor was subject in the first century to the influence of a certain type of philosophy which tended to dethrone Christ from his place of supremacy, and that Paul was led in opposing it strongly to affirm the priority, supremacy, and all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ as the revelation of God and the mediator between God and man (Col. 1: 15-20; 2: 8 ff., 16 ff.). The epistle to the Colossians gives evidence, also, that this philosophy was affected by the same conception of the intrinsic evil of matter which later appeared in the gnosticism of the second century—a conception which led to the predication of numerous intermediary beings between God and the world in order to avoid attributing to God the evil involved in creating an evil world. This tendency is triply opposed in the prologue. The world is made the product of divine activity through the “Word;” the “Word” is the only mediator between God and the world; the Word is himself divine. In place, therefore, of the long series of intermediary beings, of whom the last and remotest from God brings the world into being, it is the doctrine of the prologue that all things became through the Word, who was in the beginning with God and who was God.

In the second place, we discern in the prologue, in immediate connection with the employment of the Philonian term “Word,” a denial of Philo’s doctrine.³⁵ To Philo the Word was a philosophic conception rather than a reality objectively known, the joint product of a theory about God and the hard fact of the existence of the world. Whether objective existence was predicated of this prod-

³⁵ Cf. McGIFFERT, *Apostolic Age*, p. 488.

uct of reflection does not seem to be wholly clear; perhaps Philo himself scarcely knew. But at best the Philonian conception of the Word, instead of bringing God near and making him more real to men, only put him farther away; the Word himself, through whom alone God could be known, was only an inference, a product of thought. No man had ever seen him at any time, or ever could see him. Philosophically he might bridge the chasm between God and man; practically he only widened it. Over against this conception the prologue of our gospel, availing itself of the familiar term but converting it to the uses of a wholly different doctrine, affirms that Jesus Christ the historic person is the God-revealing Word, and that all that philosophy vainly dreamed of as accomplished in the unknown and unknowable Word has, in fact, been wrought in that the eternal, self-revealing God has incarnated himself, having become flesh in the person of Jesus: "and we beheld his glory, the glory of one who reveals God as an only-begotten son reveals his father."

In the third place, we cannot fail to see in vss. 6-9 and 15 an intention to oppose the doctrine, evidently held by some, that John the Baptist is the true Messiah and revelation of God. Of the existence of a John the Baptist sect there is a hint in Acts 19: 3, and further evidence in the *Clem. Recogn.*, I, 54.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Here Peter is represented as saying: "Yea even some of the disciples of John . . . have separated themselves from the people, and proclaimed their own master as the Christ." This bears witness to the existence of such a sect in the latter part of the second century. But such a sect could not have sprung into existence so long after the death of John. It must have its roots in a much earlier time, as Acts 19: 3, indeed, bears witness that it did have. Cf. HACKETT, *Acts*, *ad. loc.*;

Thus against a tendency, essentially gnostic in character, to separate God from the world by the intervention of one or more intermediary beings; against the Philonean notion of the "Word" of God as a mere philosophic conception, only rhetorically personified and never for a moment identified with the Messiah or conceived of as incarnate; and against the assertion that John the Baptist is the true Messiah, the prologue affirms the eternal existence of the "Word" as the one medium of God's relation to the world, his incarnation in Jesus Christ, and his messiahship.³⁷

But this is not all. The prologue not only affirms certain propositions about Jesus which are denied by the contemporaries of the writer; it is in entire harmony with 20:30, 31, in emphasizing faith in Jesus Christ as the con-

WILKINSON, *A Johannine Document in the First Chapter of Luke*, pp. 21 ff. See on this whole subject NEANDER, *Church History*, Vol. I, p. 376, and the commentaries of Godet and Westcott; *contra*, Weiss. In his monograph, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums*, 1898, BALDENSPERGER has maintained that opposition to the John-cult is the central purpose of the gospel. See review by RHEES in the *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1899. [E. F. Scott with truer perspective, makes the interest in subordinating John the Baptist to Jesus one of the three polemical aims of the gospel. See SCOTT, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 77 ff.]

³⁷ GODET (*Commentary on John*, Vol. I, p. 284) finds the chief polemic of the prologue in its opposition to the docetic distinction between Jesus and the Christ, according to which the latter descended into Jesus at his baptism, but left him and reascended into heaven before the passion. HARNACK also (*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. II, p. 217) includes this anti-docetic polemic in the purpose of the prologue. That the first epistle is distinctly anti-docetic in its aim there is no reason to question (see especially 1 John 5:6 ff., though Godet interprets vs. 6 as directed against the messiahship of the Baptist). But the traces of such polemic in the gospel are slight.

dition of true life, here represented also as true sonship to God (1: 12, 13).

If now we examine the body of the gospel, we find no further reference to the philosophical views controverted in the prologue, but a controlling emphasis upon the simpler and more positive ideas of vss. 12, 13. Indeed, the gospel may almost be said to be summarized in the words of vss. 11-13: "He came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not. But to as many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." We are told of his appearance among his own people, the Jews, of their rejection of him, first tentative, then growing more and more decisive; of his acceptance by a few who believed on him, and the Master's reception of them into an intimate fellowship with himself and with God; and through it all of Jesus' constant insistence that in him is life, that it is imparted to those who believe in him, while they who reject him remain in death. We cannot, indeed, overlook the fact that in the early part of the gospel there are repeated references to John the Baptist, in every one of which he is represented as bearing testimony to Jesus or refusing to make any claim for himself, declaring that Jesus must increase, but he himself decrease (1: 19-35; 3: 22-30); nor can we fail to connect these passages with the references to John in the prologue, or to see in both an opposition to the John the Baptist cult. Yet these passages do scarcely more than bring into clearer relief the otherwise constant emphasis on the life-giving power of faith

in Jesus Christ, the supreme revelation and only-begotten Son of God.

While, therefore, we discern in the prologue evidence that it is rather a bridge from the gospel to the readers than a summary of the book from the author's own point of view; while, as we compare the prologue, the body of the book, and the statement of purpose in 20:30, 31, we perceive that each differs somewhat from the other in emphasis or minor conceptions; and while we may observe that the references to John the Baptist are sufficiently distinct from the rest of the matter to constitute possibly a distinct stratum of the book; yet we discern also that the book reflects a situation which, if complex, is nevertheless self-consistent, and a unity of purpose that implies the dominance of one mind or of a group of minds holding substantially the same doctrine and seeking the same ends.

If we seek a definition of that purpose, the evidence leads us to say that negatively the gospel was intended to oppose certain conceptions of God and the world, akin at least to those of Philo and the Gnostics — conceptions which belittled or excluded the work of Christ — and incidentally to controvert the doctrine of the messiahship of John the Baptist; but that this negative aim was itself subordinate to the positive object of so presenting Jesus in his deeds and words as to show the danger of unbelief and the blessed issue of faith, to the end that the faith of believers might be confirmed and that they continuing in faith might increasingly possess life in his name.

It is greatly to be desired that, however remote we may feel ourselves to be from the particular errors which

this gospel originally opposed, it may still attain in respect to us all its positive and dominant purpose, and that we, as we study it afresh, may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and believing may have life in his name.

VI. THE PLAN OF THE GOSPEL

The structure of the gospel as it stands seems to be the result of two facts: the purpose which the evangelist had in mind in composing and the editors in publishing the book; and the influences already referred to as tending in some unknown way to disarrange the material. But these latter influences do not seem to have obscured the plan of the book beyond the possibility of easy recognition. The purpose of the author and the editors to set forth the evidence that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and to show the contrasted effects of faith and unbelief, is clearly discernible and affects both material and structure. The following is an attempt, on the basis of the book as it stands, to show its original plan as nearly as possible, but with suggestions in the footnotes of possible restorations of the original order.

ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL

- I. THE PROLOGUE OF THE GOSPEL: The central doctrines of the book so expressed in terms of current thought as to relate the former to the latter and facilitate the transition from the latter to the former. I : 1-18
- II. THE PERIOD OF BEGINNINGS: John bears his testimony; Jesus begins to reveal himself; faith is begotten in some, and the first signs of opposition appear. I : 19—4 : 54

1. The testimony of John and the beginnings of faith in Jesus. 1: 19—2: 12
 - a) The testimony of John to the representatives of the Jews. 1: 19-28
 - b) John points out Jesus as the Lamb of God and the one whom he had come to announce. 1: 29-34
 - c) John points out Jesus to his own disciples, and two of them follow Jesus. 1: 35-42
 - d) Jesus gains two other followers. 1: 43-51
 - e) In Cana of Galilee Jesus first manifests his glory in a sign and strengthens the faith of his disciples. 2: 1-12
 2. Jesus in Jerusalem and Judea: opposition and imperfect faith. 2: 13—3: 36
 - a) The cleansing of the temple opposition manifested. 2: 13-22
 - b) Unintelligent faith, based on signs, in Jerusalem. 2: 23-25
 - c) In particular, Nicodemus is reproved and instructed. 3: 1-15
 - d) The motive and effect of divine revelation in the Son. 3: 16-21
 - e) The further testimony of John the Baptist to his own inferiority and Jesus' superiority. 3: 22-30
 - f) The supreme character of the revelation in the Son. 3: 31-36
 3. Jesus in Samaria, and the beginnings of work in Galilee. chap. 4
 - a) Jesus' self-revelation to the Samaritan woman, and the simple faith of the Samaritans. 4: 1-42
 - b) The reception of Jesus in Galilee, for the most part on the basis of signs seen, but in one case without waiting for such evidence. 4: 43-54
- III. THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF JESUS' MINISTRY, to the end of his public teaching: Jesus declares himself

more and more fully, many believe on him, and the faith of his disciples is strengthened, but the leaders of the nation reject him and resolve upon his death.

chaps. 5-12

1. The healing of the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, raising the sabbath question, and then the question of Jesus' relation to his Father, God.

chap. 5⁸⁸

2. The feeding of the five thousand and attendant events leading to the discourse on Jesus as the Bread of Life, in consequence of which many leave him, but the Twelve believe in him more firmly.

chap. 6

3. The journey to the feast of Tabernacles, and discussion concerning who Jesus is, whence he is, and whither he goes.

chaps. 7, 8⁸⁹

4. The healing of the man born blind, and the teaching of Jesus concerning himself as the Light of the World and concerning spiritual blindness.

chap. 9⁴⁰

5. Discourse of Jesus at the feast of Dedication concerning himself as the Good Shepherd and the Door of the Fold.

chap. 10⁴¹

⁸⁸ With this chapter, 7:15-24 was probably originally connected. On this question and the relation of chaps. 5 and 6, see p. 131.

⁸⁹ But these chapters, as they stand, apparently include three sections that do not properly belong to them: 7:15-24, which belongs with the fifth chapter; 7:53-8:11, which does not properly belong to this gospel, though doubtless historical and probably as old as the rest of the gospel; 8:12-20, which seems to belong to chap. 9. Chap. 7:25-52 has also apparently suffered some transposition. See pp. 131, 132, and n. 26.

⁴⁰ With which, however, 10:19-21 and 8:12-20 are so evidently connected in subject as to suggest that they originally belonged to this chapter. See n. 26, p. 132.

⁴¹ Originally, perhaps, arranged 10:22-29; 1-18; 30-42. See n. 26, p. 132. Concerning 10:19-21, see previous note.

6. The raising of Lazarus, and the teaching of Jesus concerning himself as the Resurrection and the Life. chap. 11
7. Jesus' last presentation of himself to the Jews of Jerusalem. chap. 12
 - a) Jesus anointed by Mary at Bethany. 12: 1-11
 - b) The triumphal entry. 12: 12-19
 - c) The coming of the gentiles to see Jesus: Jesus' announcement of his death and its results. 12: 20-36a
 - d) The rejection of Jesus by the Jews; its nature and explanation. 12: 36b-50⁴²
- IV. THE FULLER REVELATION OF JESUS TO HIS BELIEVING DISCIPLES. chaps. 13-17
 1. The washing of the disciples' feet by Jesus, and the lesson of humility and service. 13: 1-20
 2. The prediction of the betrayal, and the withdrawal of the betrayer. 13: 21-31a
 3. The farewell discourses of Jesus. 13: 31b—16: 33⁴³
 4. The prayer of Jesus for his disciples. chap. 17
- V. THE CULMINATION AND APPARENT TRIUMPH OF HOSTILE UNBELIEF. chaps. 18, 19
 1. The arrest of Jesus. 18: 1-14
 2. The trial before the Jewish authorities, and Peter's denial. 18: 15-27⁴⁴
 3. The trial before Pilate. 18: 28—19: 16
 4. The crucifixion. 19: 17-30
 5. The burial. 19: 31-42

⁴² Vss. 36b-43 are evidently a comment of the evangelist on the meaning of the events that precede. Vss. 44-50 are probably his summary of Jesus' whole teaching to the nation. The character of the whole passage 36b-50 indicates that it is felt to mark the conclusion of the history of Jesus' offer of himself to the nation.

⁴³ Concerning possible restoration of the original order here, see pp. 132, 133.

⁴⁴ See p. 133.

- VI. THE TRIUMPH OF JESUS OVER DEATH AND HIS ENEMIES: The restoration and confirmation of faith. chap. 20
1. The empty tomb. 20: 1-10
 2. The appearance of Jesus to Mary. 20: 11-18
 3. The appearance to the disciples, Thomas being absent. 20: 19-25
 4. The appearance to Thomas with the other disciples. 20: 26-29
 5. Conclusion of the gospel, stating the purpose for which it was written. 20: 30, 31
- VII. APPENDIX. chap. 21
1. Appearance of Jesus to the seven by the Sea of Galilee, and his words concerning the tarrying of the beloved disciple. 21: 1-24
 2. Second conclusion of the gospel. 21: 25

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APPENDED NOTE V

SUMMARY OF THE AUTHOR'S JOHANNINE THEORY

[The earliest record of Dr. Burton's unique theory of fourth gospel origins was in the form of a working hypothesis sketched at the conclusion of his 1915 seminar on Johannine introduction (see frontispiece). His final working out of this hypothesis followed exactly and in detail the lines laid down in the initial sketch. By itself, therefore, the outline constitutes a valuable record of Dr. Burton's method of work and, at the same time, an excellent synopsis of his theory as a whole. Accordingly it is reproduced below as an epitome of his latest work on the Johannine problem.]

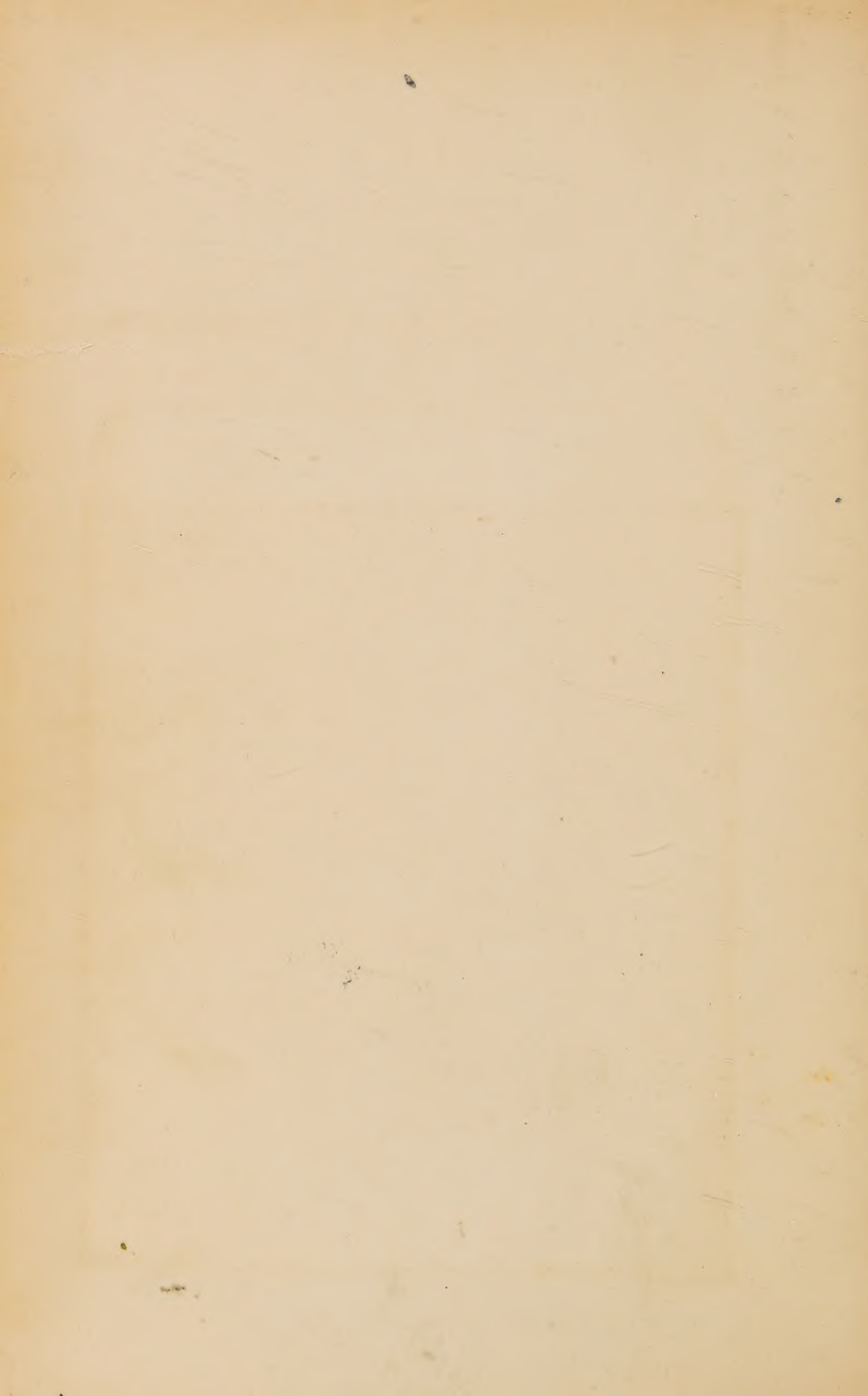
THE ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

1. The author had at his command three sources :
 - a) The synoptic gospels
 - b) A second narrative source
 - c) A discourse source
2. The first two he edited freely to give the impression that he wished to give of Jesus.
3. To the third he added :
 - a) The passages denunciatory of the Jews
 - b) The dialogues imbedded in the discourses
 - c) The Anti-Johannean passages
 - d) Occasional other notes — largely of a geographical or historical character
4. All these, edited as indicated, he combined together in the present gospel.
5. To all these a second editor added the remarks which imply that signs are the proper basis of faith.

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